

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM D. KELLEY,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

ON

PROTECTION TO AMERICAN LABOR;

DELIVERED

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JANUARY 31, 1866.

WASHINGTON:
PRINTED AT THE CONGRESSIONAL GLOBE OFFICE.
1866.

3373

16285

LINCOLN RM.

cop 2

PROTECTION TO AMERICAN LABOR.

The House being in the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union—

Mr. KELLEY said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The eloquent gentleman from Indiana, [Mr. Voorhees,] whose voice during the war has been so potent in the councils of the Democratic party, and who has borne so prominent a part on this floor in resisting all the legislation by which the rebellion was to be, and has been, crushed, in the course of his recent defense of the President's message and policy lauded him as a champion of free trade. He said the President had struck "a manly and honest blow" at the protection afforded by the tariff to the varied industries of the country, and cited this brief extract from his message in proof of his assertion:

"Now, in their turn, the property and income of the country should bear their just proportion of the burden of taxation, while in our impost system, through means of which increased vitality is incidentally imparted to all the industrial interests of the nation, the duties should be so adjusted as to fall most heavily on articles of luxury, leaving the necessities of life as free from taxation as the absolute wants of the Government, economically administered, will justify."

Entertaining, sir, the views I do, and which I propose to submit to the committee, I had found in that portion of the President's message the expression of a desire to foster the industry, develop the resources, and increase the wealth and power of the country. Till the gentleman called my attention to the fact, I had not observed that his expression was enigmatical and susceptible of at least a double construction. I will not, however, detain the committee by endeavoring to ascertain the President's meaning, which time will disclose; but without abandoning the hope that my apprehension of his words is correct, will proceed, in a general way, to demonstrate that the gentleman's views as to how we may best equalize and increase the wealth of the people of the United States are erroneous. In the course of his remarks he said:

"We have *two* great interests in this country, one of

which has prostrated the other. The past four years of suffering and war has been the opportune harvest of the manufacturer. The looms and machine shops of New England and the iron furnaces of Pennsylvania have been more prolific of wealth to their owners than the most dazzling gold mines of the earth."

Again:

"The present law of tariff is being rapidly understood. It is no longer a deception, but rather a well-defined and clearly recognized outrage. The agricultural labor of the land is driven to the counters of the most gigantic monopoly ever before sanctioned by law. From its exorbitant demands there is no escape. The European manufacturer is forbidden our ports of trade for fear he might sell his goods at cheaper rates and thus relieve the burdens of the consumers. We have declared by law that there is but one market into which our citizens shall go to make their purchases, and we have left it to the owners of the market to fix their own prices. The bare statement of such a principle foreshadows at once the consequences which flow from it. One class of citizens, and by far the largest and most useful, is placed at the mercy, for the necessities as well as luxuries of life, of the fostered, favored, and protected class to whose aid the whole power of the Government is given."

And again:

"Free trade with all the markets of the world is the true theory of government."

Sir, as I proceed, it will, I think, appear that we have more than "two great interests," and that protection such as can only be afforded by a tariff is required by them all; and that they are interwoven with such exquisite harmony that no one of them can suffer alone; and that to destroy any one is to impair the vital power of all.

Gruff old Samuel Johnson said in substance that, when he contemplated the many diseases to which human life is a prey and the countless means for its destruction, he wondered that anybody lived to maturity; and when, on the other hand, he beheld the infinitude of specifics offered for every form of disease he was led to wonder that people ever died. And the thought recurs to me as I contemplate the condition of our country from either of two stand-points—that of the despondent patriot and of him who conceals his determined treason under expressions of acquiescent loyalty, or that of the cheerful

patriot who knows something of our unmeasured resources. Regarding our debt, which set forth in figures seems so crushing, and our pension lists, which, embracing more names than did the muster rolls of the contending armies at Waterloo, announce the fearful amount of infirmity, widowhood, and orphanage for which we are bound to provide; remembering how the ruling powers of other nations hate us; looking at the immense extent and resources of the British dominions on our north, and considering how sedulously the imperial Government has pursued the design of uniting those dominions and constructing such governmental works as would "render Canada accessible to her Majesty's forces at all seasons of the year," and that "as well upon grounds peculiar to Canada as from considerations affecting the interests of the other colonies and of the whole empire;" remembering, again, the Monroe doctrine, and the fact that he who occupies the throne of Mexico is, though an Austrian, the creature of the ambitious man whose will is law to France; and, in view of these facts, considering the internal condition of our country, with nearly a million square miles of our territory desolated by four years of stubborn war, and with its people divided into three classes, distrusting and hating each other—four millions of them born as things for a market and strangers to the enjoyment of any human right; six or eight millions more poor and ignorant nearly as they, and unused and averse to labor, less hopeful, and tending each year more nearly to dependence on the rifle, the net, and the line; and the remaining class, less numerous than either of the others, but possessing all the wealth and culture, acknowledging themselves a conquered people, but with rare exceptions proving by all their acts that they are unconverted, and that they hate the Union, its Constitution, and the people who maintained the unity of the one and the sovereignty of the other as intensely as they did when they began the unholy war of history; regarding, I say, these facts, the disguised traitor may still hope for the accomplishment of his purpose, and the despondent patriot may well despair.

On the other hand, he who contemplates our geographical position, which makes us, on the one ocean, business neighbors to seven hundred and fifty millions of the people of Asia, and on the other to two hundred and fifty millions of the busy people of Europe, our vast agricultural resources, our unestimated mineral wealth, the magnitude of our rivers, and the natural wealth of the country they drain, the capacity of our people for enterprise, their ingenuity, and their persistence, and who withal comprehends the laws of political economy and social science, and believes that a free and educated people will give practical effect to great truths, smiles with derision upon him who sees danger to our country in the complicated facts suggested.

I have before me, sir, the yellowed pages of

a pamphlet, printed in London in 1677, which contains a panacea for all our ills, the suggestions of which, illustrated by the experience of our own and other nations, will, if applied to our resources, bring permanent peace and prosperity to our country, elevate the freedman into the prosperous and intelligent citizen, bless the master spirits of the South with wealth beyond their past imaginings, and give them, "the mean whites," as they designate their poor neighbors, as sturdy competitors in the race of life; will reconstruct their broken railroads and canals, rebuild their ruined cities, towns, and villages, and make their barren and wasted fields to bloom and blossom as those of the fairest portions of the North, of Belgium, France, or England.

This quaint old pamphlet was written by "Andrew Yarrinton, Gentleman," and is entitled, "England's Improvement by Sea and Land. How to outdo the Dutch without Fighting, to Pay Debts without Moneys, to set at Work all the Poor of England with the Growth of our own Lands." It disposes very effectually of the gentleman's [Mr. Voorhees] proposition that free trade "is the true theory of government."

When Andrew Yarrinton wrote, the Dutch were disputing the supremacy of the seas with England, and she was exporting raw materials and buying manufactured articles; and one object of his pamphlet was to relieve the English people from the taunt of the Dutch that they "sold their whole skins for a sixpence, and bought back the tails for a shilling"—a commercial policy which the American people, with rare and brief exceptions, have steadily pursued. To Yarrinton and Sir George Downing, author of the Navigation Act, an American by birth, and a member of the first graduating class of Harvard college, England, in my judgment, owes more of her wealth and power than to any other two men, however illustrious their names may be in her history. Before they influenced her counsels Holland was mistress of the sea. But the Navigation Act and the employment of her people on the growth of her lands, transferred the scepter to England. The purpose of Downing's bill as declared in its preamble, was "to keep his Majesty's subjects in the plantations in a firmer dependence," to "increase English shipping," and to insure "the vent of English woollens and other manufactures and commodities." What Yarrinton and Downing taught their country we can practice for the benefit of ours. And as England outdid the Dutch without fighting, so can we outdo her by the arts of peace, and enforce the Monroe doctrine against the world without firing a gun; and, vast as is our indebtedness, strangers will come and cast their lot with us and liquidate it if we so legislate as "to set at work all the poor of" the United States "with the growth of our own lands." They will bring

with them arts and industries and implements with which we are not familiar; will open new quarries, mines, and ore banks; will build new furnaces, forges, mills, and workshops; will revive wasted lands and open new fields, and by creating a home market will enable the farmer to practice skillful and remunerative husbandry, and will create American commerce by enabling our merchants to supply ships with assorted cargoes of American goods.

THE ONE WANT OF OUR COUNTRY.

Sir, the pressing want of our country is men. We need not sigh for additional territory. We need go to no foreign nation for any product of agriculture. Abundant as are our ascertained stores of gold, silver, coal, iron, copper, zinc, lead, cinnabar, kaoline, petroleum, and the infinite number of substances man has utilized, the extent of our mineral wealth is unmeasured and unimagined. And our ocean-bound coasts, the immense inland seas that bound us on the north, the land-locked Gulf that laves our southern shores, and our grand rivers, impel us to commercial enterprise, and proclaim the one great want of our country to be man. Labor alone can make these unparalleled resources available; and when by securing to industry its just reward we shall develop and attract hither from other lands a supply of labor that will make the march of our conquest over the elements of our wealth steadily progressive, our debt, though expressed by the numerals required to tell it now, will shrink into comparative insignificance, and the Powers which by treachery and disregard of international law during the last four years would have destroyed us, will assume relatively Lilliputian proportions.

These are not new thoughts. So long ago as 1689, Locke, in his *Essay on Civil Government*, said:

"Let any one consider what the difference is between an acre of land planted with tobacco or sugar, sown with wheat or barley, and an acre of the same land lying in common, without any husbandry upon it; and he will find the improvement of labor makes the far greater part of the value. I think it will be but a very modest computation to say that of the products of the earth useful to the life of a man, nine tenths are the effects of labor. Nay, if we will rightly consider things as they come to our use, and cast up the several expenses about them—what in them is purely owing to nature, and what to labor—we shall find that in most of them ninety-nine hundredths are wholly to be put on the account of labor. There cannot be a clearer demonstration of anything than several nations of the Americans are of this, who are rich in land and poor in all the comforts of life; whom nature having furnished as rich as any other people with the materials of plenty, that is a fruitful soil, apt to produce in abundance what might serve for food, raiment, and delight, yet for want of improving it by labor have not one hundredth part of the conveniences we enjoy."

But to make labor fully available it must be steadily employed and generously rewarded, and to secure these results the employments of a country must be largely diversified. A nation whose territory is broad and remote from dense populations cannot, by pursuing commerce and

agriculture alone, prosper or endure. This is the decree of nature. Land, as well as man, requires rest and food; and a purely agricultural and commercial nation can afford neither of these. The social history of the world verifies this proposition. To make a nation prosperous remunerative employment must be accessible to all its people; and to that end industry must be so diversified that he who has not the strength for agricultural or other labor requiring muscle may make his feeble sinews available in some gentler employment. Agriculture and commerce afford few stimulants to inventive genius; diversified industry offers many. Childhood in a purely agricultural community is wasted in idleness, as are the winter months of its robust men, and to realize the truth of the maxim that time is money, the varied industry of a country should offer employment to all for all seasons of the year, that each day may be made to earn its own subsistence. And herein is illustrated the harmony of interests, for where diversity of employment is successfully promoted, agriculture finds its readiest markets and earns its richest rewards: for within accessible distance from the city or town the farmer has a market for those perishable productions which will not bear extended transportation, but the cultivation of which, in alternation with white or hard crops, strengthens and enriches his land. But of this hereafter.

WHY THE SOUTH DEMANDED FREE TRADE.

Unhappily, sir, it has not been the policy of those who have governed our country to permit, much less to encourage, such needed diversification of employment and productions. I have before me an imperial octavo volume embracing more than nine hundred pages, and illustrated with the likenesses of many distinguished southern statesmen and teachers. It is entitled "*Cotton is King, and Pro-Slavery Arguments, comprising the Writings of Hammond, Harper, Christie, Stringfellow, Hodge, Bledsoe, and Cartwright on this Important Subject, by E. N. Elliott, LL. D., President of Planters' College, Mississippi, with an Essay on Slavery in the Light of International Law, by the Editor.*" This volume, so valuable to the future historian, bears the imprint of Prichard, Abbott & Loomis, Augusta, Georgia, 1860. And the title page announces that it was "published and sold exclusively by subscription." When this work was published, the establishment of the southern confederacy was, doubtless, a foregone conclusion in the minds of its publishers and their patrons; and there was, therefore, no further reason for the southern leaders disguising the purposes they had had in view while governing our country in the name of the Democratic party. I refer to it in order that these distinguished writers may, for themselves, declare the aims and motives that governed them. The objects they pro-

posed to attain are thus expressed under the head of "Economical Relations of Slavery:"

"The opposition to the protective tariff by the South arose from two causes; the first openly avowed at the time, and the second clearly deducible from the policy it pursued; the one to secure the foreign market for its cotton, the other to obtain a bountiful supply of provisions at cheap rates." * * * "But they could not monopolize the market unless they could obtain a cheap supply of food and clothing for their negroes, and raise their cotton at such reduced prices as to undersell their rivals. *A manufacturing population, with its mechanical coadjutors in the midst of the provision growers, on a scale such as the protective policy contemplated, it was conceived would create a permanent market for their products and enhance the price; whereas if this manufacturing could be prevented, and a system of free trade be adopted, the South would constitute the principal provision market of the country, and the fertile lands of the North supply the cheap food demanded for its slaves.*"

Again:

"By the protective policy, the planters expected to have the cost of both provisions and clothing increased, and their ability to monopolize the foreign markets diminished in a corresponding degree. *If they could establish free trade, it would insure the American market to foreign manufacturers, secure the foreign markets for their leading staples, repress home manufactures, force a large number of the northern men into agriculture, multiply the growth and diminish the price of provisions, feed and clothe their slaves at lower rates, produce their cotton for a third or fourth of former prices, rival all other countries in its cultivation, monopolize the trade in the article throughout the whole of Europe, and build up a commerce that would make us the ruler of the seas.*"

Again:

"The markets in the Southwest, now so important, were then quite limited. As the protective system, coupled with the contemplated internal improvements, if successfully accomplished, *would inevitably tend to enhance the price of agricultural products, while the free-trade, anti-internal-improvement policy would as certainly reduce their value,* the two systems were long considered so antagonistic that the success of the one must sound the knell of the other. Indeed, so fully was Ohio impressed with the necessity of promoting manufactures that all capital thus employed was for many years entirely exempt from taxation.

"It was in vain that the friends of protection appealed to the fact that the duties levied on foreign goods did not necessarily enhance the cost to the consumer; that the competition among the home manufacturers and between them and foreigners had greatly reduced the price of nearly every article properly protected; that foreign manufacturers always had, and always would, advance their prices according to our dependence upon them; that domestic competition was the only safety the country had against foreign imposition; that it was necessary we should become our own manufacturers in a fair degree to render ourselves independent of other nations in time of war as well as to guard against the vacillations in foreign legislation; that the South would be vastly the gainer by having the market for its products at its own doors and avoiding the cost of their transit across the Atlantic; that, in the event of the repression, or want of proper expansion, of our manufactures by the adoption of the free-trade system, the imports of foreign goods to meet the public wants would soon exceed the ability of the people to pay, and inevitably involve the country in bankruptcy. Southern politicians remained inflexible and refused to accept any policy except free trade and the utter abandonment of the principle of protection. Whether they were jealous of the greater prosperity of the North and desirous to cripple its energies, or whether they were truly fearful of bankrupting the South, we shall not wait to inquire."

The author doubtless felt that it would be

sacrilegious to inquire too curiously into the motives of the ministers of a monarch so absolute as King Cotton, but we, who do not live in the fear of his majesty, may freely, and not without advantage, consider the questions propounded.

And again, in connection with the assertion that with slave labor they could not become manufacturers, and must therefore remain at the mercy of the North, both as to food and clothing, unless the European markets should be retained, the writer says southern statesmen saw that—

"Combinations of capitalists, whether engaged in manufacturing wool, cotton, or iron, would draw off labor from the cultivation of the soil, and cause large bodies of the producers to become consumers, and that roads and canals, connecting the West with the East, were effectual means of bringing the agricultural and manufacturing classes into closer proximity, to the serious injury of the planters."

These honest and fearless exponents of the free trade of which the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES] says the President is an advocate seem to have considered the chief end of man, that is, of all American men, save slaveholding planters, to be to produce cheap food for slaves; and in this book, so remarkable for its frankness, we find a quotation from a speech made by one of them, which runs as follows:

"We must prevent the increase of manufactories, force the surplus labor into agriculture, promote the cultivation of our unimproved western lands, until provisions are so multiplied and reduced in price that the slave can be fed so cheaply as to enable us to grow our sugar at three cents a pound. Then, without protective duties, we can rival Cuba in the production of that staple and drive her from our markets."

RESULTS OF FREE TRADE.

By the persistent and domineering pursuit of these ends by the South, and the unhallowed spirit of compromise which always controlled the North, the manufactures of the country were destroyed; and the West (for great railway thoroughfares had not then been constructed) having been reduced to dependence on the South for her market, consented with Pennsylvania, New York, and New England, to her own ruin. It may be that having deprived herself of any other market, her poverty and not her will consented; but the story of her seduction and ruin is thus happily told in "Cotton is King:"

"The West which had long looked to the East for a market had its attention now turned to the South, the most certain and convenient market for the sale of its products; the planters affording to the farmers the market they had in vain sought from the manufacturers. In the mean time steamboat navigation was acquiring perfection on the western rivers, the great natural outlets for western produce, and became a means of communication between the Northwest and the Southwest, as well as with the trade and commerce of the Atlantic cities. This gave an impulse to industry and enterprise west of the Alleghenies unparalleled in the history of the country. While then the bounds of slave labor were extending from Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, westward over Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas, the area of free labor was enlarging with equal rapidity in the Northwest, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan.

Thus within these provision and cotton regions were the forests cleared away or the prairies broken up simultaneously by those two antagonistic forces. Opponents no longer, they were harmonized by the fusion of their interests, the connecting link between them being the steamboat. Thus also was a *tripartite alliance* formed, by which the western farmer, the southern planter, and the English manufacturer became united in a common bond of interest, the whole giving their support to the doctrine of free trade."

With this unnatural alliance the work seemed to be completed, and in verification of the theories of the northern leaders of the Democratic party who, like the gentleman from Indiana, [Mr. VOORHEES,] took their opinions from the southern planters, the commerce of our country should have rapidly expanded, and Great Britain furnished a market for all our surplus grain. But what were the results? The laboring people of the manufacturing States were soon without employment and living upon past earnings. The deposit lines in our savings banks ran down; the banks of discount and deposit lost their specie; merchants made small sales, or sold on long and uncertain credits; and sagacious men saw that bankruptcy impended over all. The ruined people of the North and East were unable to pay for the products of the South or West. Large numbers of them, abandoning the callings to which they had been trained, and in the pursuit of which while providing amply for the support of their families they could have accumulated capital and added to the national wealth and power, became unskillful farmers on mortgaged land in the distant West. England, no longer simply mistress of the sea, but the commercial mistress of the world, seeking customers who could pay for what they purchased, bought her grain from the Baltic, from Egypt, or wherever she could buy it cheapest or with greatest convenience; and the western farmer, having supplied the coarse provisions that were required as cheap food for the slaves, and more costly food for two hundred and fifty thousand masters, saw his wheat rot in the field, and consumed his corn as fuel.

But what was the effect of this free-trade alliance upon the interests of the planters? Did it enlarge their markets, increase the price of their staple, and by a golden harvest to them seem to compensate for the universal ruin in which it had involved the people of the North? We will see. Had cotton manufactures in this country been fostered, the manufacturers of England and America would have been competitors in the cotton market, and, as competition among buyers ever does, would have maintained the price of that commodity. But the mad pursuit of cheap food for slaves had destroyed competition for the planters' product. Their policy had given England and her continental rivals a monopoly of the markets of the world for cotton goods. They had made England, to whose ports the fabricants of Europe went for their supply, their only customer; and she, hav-

ing an immense accumulated capital which yielded but small interest, while they were needy debtors compelled to borrow, and often at any rate of interest, found herself in a condition to control the price of their commodity. Perceiving the vast relative importance of a continued supply of cheap cotton to an immediate return of interest on the capital involved in one year's supply, the English merchants accumulated cotton to an extent that enabled them to decline further immediate purchases from those who were always in debt to their factors, and whose necessities would soon compel them to sell at any price. And the author from whom I have quoted so extensively gives us, on page 72 of the volume, the legitimate result of the folly of the chief American party to the *tripartite alliance* in favor of free trade, when he says:

"Cotton, up to the date when this controversy had been fairly commenced, had been worth, in the English market, an average price of from 29 7-10 to 48 4-10 cents per pound; but at this period a wide-spread and ruinous depression occurred, cotton in 1826 having fallen in England as low as 11 9-10 to 18 9-10 cents per pound."

Thus had free trade, the reign of which the Democratic party is endeavoring to restore, accomplished its mission in the United States. Commerce, manufactures, and agriculture, involving the merchant, the artisan, the farmer, and the planter, were all prostrate and at the mercy of the capitalists of Great Britain, whose selfishness is only equaled by that of the class whose arrogance and unreasoning will had thus subjected the entire people of our country to their control.

EFFECT OF FREE TRADE ON THE POOR WHITES OF THE SOUTH.

Mr. Chairman, having ascertained the result of the planters' free-trade policy upon their own interests and those of the people of the North, let us contemplate the condition of the masses of the people of the cotton States. I will not detain you by any reference to that of the slaves and free people of color. Other occasions will be more fitting for that. But on nearly one million square miles of territory which the planters regarded as their exclusive domain, were some six or eight million people designated as "poor" or "mean whites," to whom are accorded all the rights of citizenship, and I will inquire whether their interests had been promoted by this policy, otherwise so unmitigatedly selfish? Let us, in contemplating their condition for a few moments, do it, not from our stand-point, but through the eyes of southern men.

Mr. Tarver, of Missouri, in the course of a paper on Domestic Manufactures in the South and West, published in 1847, says:

"The free population of the South may be divided into two classes—the slaveholder and the non-slaveholder. I am not aware that the relative numbers of these two classes have ever been ascertained in any of the States, but I am satisfied that the non-slave-

holders far outnumber the slaveholders—perhaps by three to one. In the more southern portion of this region, the non-slaveholders possess, generally, but very small means, and the land which they possess is almost universally poor, and so sterile that a scanty subsistence is all that can be derived from its cultivation; and the more fertile soil, being in the possession of the slaveholder, must ever remain out of the power of those who have none.

"This state of things is a great drawback and bears heavily upon and depresses the moral energies of the poorer classes." * * * * "The acquisition of a respectable position in the scale of wealth appears so difficult, that they decline the hopeless pursuit, and many of them settle down into habits of idleness, and become the almost passive subjects of all its consequences. And I lament to say that I have observed of late years that an evident deterioration is taking place in this part of the population, the younger portion of it being less educated, less industrious, and in every point of view less respectable, than their ancestors."

Governor Hammond, when addressing the South Carolina Institute in 1850, spoke of this portion of the people of the South when he said:

"They obtain a precarious subsistence by occasional jobs, by hunting, by fishing, by plundering fields or folds, and too often by what is in its effects far worse—trading with slaves, and seducing them to plunder for their benefit."

William Gregg, Esq., when addressing the same Institute in 1851, said:

"From the best estimate that I have been able to make, I put down the white people, who ought to work, and who do not, or who are so employed as to be wholly unproductive to the State, at one hundred and twenty-five thousand." * * * * "By this it appears that but one fifth of the present poor whites of our State would be necessary to operate one million spindles." * * * * "I have long been under the impression, and every day's experience has strengthened my convictions, that the evils exist in the wholly neglected condition of this class of persons. Any man who is an observer of things could hardly pass through our country without being struck with the fact that all the capital, enterprise, and intelligence is employed in directing slave labor; and the consequence is that a large portion of our poor white people are wholly neglected, and are suffered to while away their existence in a state but one step in advance of the Indian of the forest."

Hon. J. H. Lumpkin, of Georgia, in a paper on the Industrial Regeneration of the South, published in 1852, in advocacy of manufacturing establishments which had been attempted in Georgia, and the establishment of which had been resisted on the ground that they would become hot-beds of crime and endanger the safety of slavery, said:

"It is objected that these manufacturing establishments will become the hot-beds of crime." * * * * "But I am by no means ready to concede that our poor, degraded, half-fed, half-clothed, and ignorant population—without Sabbath schools or any other kind of instruction, mental or moral, or without any just appreciation of character—will be injured by giving them employment which will bring them under the oversight of employers who will inspire them with self-respect by taking an interest in their welfare."

Down to that time free trade had certainly done but little to bless the poor white people of the South. Nor does it seem from recent descriptions, and from our observation of them in military prisons and hospitals, to have mate-

rially benefited them down to the present day. J. R. Gilmore, Esq., "Edmund Kirke," in his discourse on the social and political characteristics of the southern whites, before the Jersey City Literary Association, estimated the number known as the "mean whites" at over four millions, and described them as "herding together in sparse communities and gleaning a sorry subsistence from hunting, fishing, and poaching, in the mountain districts of Virginia, upper Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and in the sand hills of North Carolina and the barrens of Tennessee, and throughout the rest of the South; as hovering around the borders of large plantations, quartering themselves upon the 'chivalry,' stealing the deer from their forests and the hams from their smoke-houses." He said they were tolerated by the planters for the two hundred thousand votes they gave for slavery and the mad theories of the planters, and added, "They are far below the slaves in morals and civilization; are indolent, shiftless, thieving, lying; given to whisky-drinking, snuff-dipping, clay-eating, incest, and all manner of social vices. Not one in a thousand of them can read; not one in ten thousand can write;" and he said that he "had met many who had never seen a book or newspaper, and some who had never heard of a Bible or a spelling-book."

Mr. B. C. Truman, an accredited correspondent of that journal, in a letter to the New York Times, dated Montgomery, Alabama, October 23, 1865, said:

"There is a class of beings in all the southern States known as poor whites. The little monosyllabic adjective does not give the faintest idea of these things with bodies and souls. How under the heavens they live is a question for the philanthropist, if indeed that paragon of benevolence has ever visited the region in which they exist—the 'homes' of the poor whites. In a visit to Spanish Fort a few days ago in company with a naval officer we stopped at the 'shebang' of one of these species. Most of these poor whites are natives. The individual whom we called upon, however, was a Scandinavian, but had lived in the place we found him for thirty years. For a long time he made his living by manufacturing turpentine; but the trees ran out years ago, and since then he has lived upon what he has raised, buying nothing but sugar and coffee, for which he traded chickens and eggs. His wife was of the regular mold, lean and long, with seven little children by her side, and a pipe in her mouth. I told her I was a newspaper correspondent, and she did not know what that was. I endeavored to explain, and found that she did not know what a newspaper was, *and yet she resides within twenty miles of Mobile.* The husband could not read or write his name, but could drink like a fish. Both husband and wife had on wooden shoes, while the children exhibited no feet covering except what nature had provided for them."

"Throughout the southern portion of Alabama, upon both sides of the river, is what is known as the 'pincy woods country.' It is one of the most barren sections I have ever seen. Neither corn nor cotton will grow to any extent. Sweet potatoes are the chief product, and this vegetable and bacon, and a little corn bread, form the bill of fare morning, noon, and night all the year round. These people are scattered all through these pincy woods, and live in log huts which in a way protect them from the tempestuous weather and violent storms of wind and rain which howl through this barren waste during certain periods of

the year. Oh, how I pity these poor beings who have been the recipients of uncounted woes and unheard-of sufferings during the long, long years of African slavery!"

And Dixon, the traveling correspondent of the Boston Daily Advertiser, whose admirable letters prove him to be a keen observer and faithful reporter, writing from Fort Valley, Georgia, November 15, said:

"Whether the North Carolina 'dirt-eater,' or the South Carolina 'sand-hiller,' or the Georgia 'cracker,' is lowest in the scale of human existence would be difficult to say. The ordinary plantation negro seemed to me, when I first saw him in any numbers, at the very bottom of not only probabilities, but also possibilities, so far as they affect human relations; but these specimens of the white race must be credited with having reached a yet lower depth of squalid and beastly wretchedness. However poor or ignorant or unclean or improvident he may be, I never yet found a negro who had not at least a vague desire for a better condition, an undefined longing for something called freedom, a shrewd instinct of self-preservation. These three ideas, or, let me say, shadows of ideas, do not make the creature a man, but they lift him out of the bounds of brutedom. The Georgia 'cracker,' as I have seen him since leaving Milledgeville, seems to me to lack not only all that the negro does, but also even the desire for a better condition, and the vague longing for an enlargement of his liberties and his rights. I walked out into the country back of Albany and Andersonville, when at those places, and into the country back of Fort Valley this morning; and on each occasion I fell in with three or four of these 'cracker' families. Such filthy poverty, such foul ignorance, such idiotic imbecility, such bestial instincts, such groveling desires, such mean longings, you would question my veracity as a man if I were to paint the pictures I have seen! Moreover, no trick of words can make plain the scene in and around one of these habitations; no fertility of language can embody the simple facts for a northern mind: and the ease is one in which even seeing itself is scarcely believing. Time and effort will lead the negro up to intelligent manhood; but I almost doubt if it will be possible to ever lift this 'white trash' into respectability."

Sir, is not the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Voorhees] mistaken in asserting that free trade "is the true theory of government," and can a policy which produces such results as I have depicted be wise? Can we rely on it to pay the interest on our debt, to meet the pensions we owe to those who have been disabled in our service, or to the widows and children, or aged and dependent parents, of those who have laid down their lives in our cause? Such free trade as he advocates can produce but one result; and that is bankruptcy, personal, corporate, State, and national. It is against the laws of nature and the providence of God. It involves as a necessary consequence idleness for one half the year to all, and for all the year to many of our people who would find adequate and remunerative employment under a system of diversified labor.

HOW ENGLAND ESTABLISHED HER SUPREMACY.

The propositions I have enunciated are not deduced from our experience alone. All history affirms them. Other nations have tried free trade and ever with the same result. England, the workshop of the world and mistress

of the seas as she proclaims herself, tried it, and from the time of Alfred to that of Edward the Confessor, sold her skins for a sixpence, and bought back the tails for a shilling, by exchanging her unwrought wool for Dutch and Flemish clothing; and the question as to how population might be prevented from exceeding the ability of the land to feed the people perplexed her rulers throughout the long period.

Even so late as the thirty-sixth year of Elizabeth's reign a law was enacted against "the erecting and maintaining of cottages," which, after reciting that "great inconveniences have been found by experience to grow by erecting and building of great numbers and multitudes of cottages which are daily more and more increased in many parts of this realm" enacts that no such tenement shall be erected unless four acres of land be attached to it. And Charles I, in 1630, issued a proclamation "against building houses on new foundations in London or Westminster, or within three miles of the city or king's palaces." This proclamation also forbade the receiving of inmates in the houses which would multiply the inhabitants to such an excessive number that they could neither be governed nor fed. The population of England has quadrupled since then, and her modern capitalists, regarding labor as raw material, maintain a supply in sufficient excess of the demand to cheapen it to the lowest point, to which end the British islands raise a quarter of a million of people, chiefly Irish, for annual exportation, feeding them in their unproductive infancy and childhood; yet the English people are better fed, clothed, housed, and paid than they ever were before.

The change has been wrought by the diversification of her industry, which has been accomplished by so legislating as to set at work all the poor of England with the growth of her own lands; and the contrast which Ireland presents, of years of famine and an industrious people, whose attachment to their native land is intense, fleeing by millions from the homes of their childhood and the graves of their ancestors, is the result of that one-sided free trade which England has forced upon her since the Union, by which her woolen, worsted, silk, cotton, and linen factories have been destroyed. Protected by her legislation of 1783, these and other branches of diversified industry were prosperous and her people contented at the date of the Union. But English free trade having done its work nothing is now of so little value in Ireland as an able-bodied laborer with a good appetite. Let him who would understand the causes of the miseries of the Irish people and the depopulation of their country read the thirteenth chapter of Henry C. Carey's *Slave Trade, Domestic and Foreign*. It is a brief story but pregnant with instruction.

I cannot tell, sir, when England first determined to abandon dependence on the produc-

tion and exportation of raw materials, but find by reference to McCallagh's Industrial History, page 74, that in 1337 she passed an act imposing

"A duty of forty shillings per sack on all wool exported by native merchants and sixty shillings on all exported by foreigners. The next year a Parliament was held at Westminster that went still further in the same direction, enacting that no wool of English growth should be transported beyond seas, and that all cloth-workers should be received, from whatever parts they should come, and fit places should be assigned them with divers liberties and privileges, and that they should have a certain allowance from the king until they might be in a way of living by their trade."

While England remained a purely agricultural country her capitalists encountered the difficulties which those of the South have to overcome, and Wade, in his History of the Middle and Working Classes, page 31, says:

"In the year 1376 we have evidence of a strong disposition to vagrancy among laborers, in a complaint of the House of Commons that masters are obliged to give their servants high wages to prevent their running away; that many of the runaways turned beggars and lived idle lives in cities and boroughs, although they have sufficient bodily strength to gain a livelihood if willing to work, and that the chief part turned out sturdy rogues, infesting the kingdom with frequent robberies."

There are those who utter such complaints in our days, and especially deplore the fact that they "are compelled to give their servants high wages to prevent their running away." At a meeting of the planters of Marlboro' district, South Carolina, the proceedings of which I find reported at length, and properly attested, in the Charleston Daily News of December 9, the following, with many like resolutions, were adopted:

"*Resolved*, That, if inconsistent with the views of the authorities to remove the military, we express the opinion that the plan of the military to compel the freedman to contract with his former owner, when desired by the latter, is wise, prudent, and absolutely necessary."

"*Resolved*, That we, the planters of the district, pledge ourselves not to contract with any freedman unless he can produce a certificate of regular discharge from his former owner."

"*Resolved*, That under no circumstances whatsoever will we rent land to any freedmen, nor will we permit them to live on our premises as employés."

"*Resolved*, That no system can be devised for the present which can *secure success* where the discipline and management of the freedman is entirely taken out of the hands of the planter, and we invoke the authorities to recognize this fact, which cannot but be apparent to them."

"*Resolved*, That we request the military to cease the habit of making negroes act as couriers, sheriffs, and constables, to serve writs and notices upon planters—a system so destructive to good order and discipline."

It is evident that neither the thunders of Gillmore's "swamp angel," nor the howl of her ponderous shells, had sufficed to awaken these somnolent gentlemen to consciousness of the fact that the fourteenth century had passed in the Palmetto State.

Englishmen in those early days exhibited the same elements of character as the negroes of our days, showing that however the complexion of races may differ, the impulses and yearn-

ings of humanity are the same in all times and among the children of all climes. Each man embraces the elements of perfect manhood and the germ of every human faculty and emotion; and the Africo-American, in his new-found freedom, desires, as did the English laborer of the fourteenth century, to work for whom he pleases, at what he feels he can work best, and in the field which will give him the amplest reward.

Slight as the stimulants applied to British manufacturing industry by parliamentary protection had then been, they caused the landholders to manifest as much anxiety for despotic control over the laboring people as do the pardoned rebels of the South; and Wade tells us that the complaints of the Commons in 1406 furnish evidence of the competition which had commenced between rural and manufacturing industry at that day, and that—

"To avoid the statutes passed some years before for compelling those who had been brought up to the plow till they were twelve years of age to continue in husbandry all their lives, agricultural laborers had recourse to the expedient of sending their children into cities and boroughs, and binding them apprentices when they were under that age; and that further, in order to counteract this, it was enacted that no person, unless possessed of land of a rental of twenty shillings a year should bind children of any age apprentices to any trade or mystery within a city, but that the children should be brought up in the occupation of their parents, or other business suited to their conditions."

But even in those dark days the British Government seems to have been more enlightened than they who claim the right to legislate for the South, or Brevet Brigadier General Fullerton, late Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau at New Orleans; for it provided that such children were nevertheless to be allowed to be sent to a school in any part of the kingdom; which their proposed legislation and his arbitrary orders for the government of the laboring people of Louisiana would effectually prohibit.

These stupid parliamentary restrictions on the freedom of laborers were not to endure forever, and the progress of England in the development of her resources has been marked by a constantly-growing system of protection, not always judicious, sometimes infringing the rights of the subject, but tending constantly to build up the power of the kingdom, increase the material comfort of the subject, and give her ascendancy over the nations of the world.

In 1727 Dean Swift, appealing to the Irish people in behalf of Ireland, said:

"One cause of a country's thriving is the industry of the people in working up all their native commodities to the last; another, the conveniency of safe ports and havens to carry out their goods, as *much* manufactured, and bring those of others as *little* manufactured, as the nature of mutual commerce will allow; another, the disposition of the people of the country to wear their own manufactures and import as little clothing, furniture, food, or drink as they can conveniently live without."

These were not abstract notions with him, for by that time England had become thoroughly

protective in her policy, and was increasing in population, wealth, and power; while Ireland, though not wholly disregarding the necessity of protecting her own workmen and developing her resources, exhibited a tendency to be governed by that plausible but shallowest of economical sophisms which teaches that it is wise, regardless of all other circumstances and conditions, to buy where we can buy for least money and sell where we can sell for most, and was sinking in the scale of national consideration. How protective England had become, is illustrated by the fact that from having for many centuries exchanged her raw wool for manufactured cloths, she had in 1660 prohibited the exportation of *unmanufactured* wool. This prohibition continued till 1825. And to protect her silk manufacturers, from 1765 to 1826, she prohibited the importation of silk goods manufactured in other countries, and confirmed the parliamentary prohibition by a reservation in the treaty of commerce concluded with France in 1786. She also prohibited the export of tools and machines used in various branches of manufactures. In 1696 she prohibited by special act of Parliament the exportation of Lee's stocking-frame—a machine invented nearly a century before. She also prohibited by various acts the exportation of certain machinery used in woolen, silk, cotton, and linen manufactures. Such favor did protection to English labor find that her laws prohibiting exportation were made to embrace presses or dies for iron buttons, engines for covering whips, tools for punching glass; in fact, anything for which it was thought worth while on the part of any class of manufacturers or mechanics to seek protection at the hands of the Legislature by securing Englishmen a monopoly of the implements required for the production of their goods.

And when, in 1824, a commission, created to inquire into the expediency of repealing these prohibitions, reported generally in favor of the repeal, it was unable to recommend their unconditional abrogation, but qualified the suggestion by recommending that the Privy Council should continue to exercise their discretion in permitting the exportation of such tools and machinery then prohibited as might appear to them not likely to be prejudicial to the trade or manufactures of the United Kingdom, "because it is possible that circumstances may exist which may render a prohibition to export certain tools and machines used in some particular manufactures expedient." To justify even this conditional repeal the commission set forth the advantages England had derived from the protection of her infant or feeble industries in the following language:

"Placed beyond all comparison at the head of civilization as regards manufacturing skill, *with capital far more ample than is possessed by any other people*, with cheap and inexhaustible supplies of iron and fuel, and with institutions every way favorable to the development of the industry and ingenuity of her

citizens, she must always be able at least to maintain her superiority of position where circumstances are in other respects equal, and be ready to turn to the utmost advantage every improvement which may reach her in common with her less powerful rivals."

It was not, we perceive, until by adequate protection to her labor she had kept the balance of trade in her favor long enough to make capital so abundant as to secure a steady and ample supply of money at low rates of interest; and by setting all her people to work on the growth of her lands had trained artisans and accumulated an abundance of superior machinery, which had paid for itself by profits on its use, that England was willing to admit the labor of the world to compete with that employed in her varied industries.

Nor had she resorted to these devices alone in her progress to this assured position, for an English writer, Porter, on the Progress of the Nation, says:

"Previous to 1825 the jealousy of our Legislature in regard to the progress of foreign manufactures was extended so far as to interfere even with the natural right of working artisans to transfer their industry to countries where it could be most profitably exerted. Any man who had acquired a practical knowledge of manufacturing processes was thereby rendered a prisoner in his own country, and not only might the arm of the law be interposed to prevent his quitting his native shores, but heavy penalties were imposed on all persons who should abet the expatriation of one of our artisans."

ENGLAND PREACHES BUT DOES NOT PRACTICE FREE TRADE.

These, however, were not the most effective means by which England has protected her capital and augmented her power. While prohibiting the exportation of tools and machines, and restraining her skilled workmen from emigrating, she was, from so early as 1337, as we have already seen, encouraging by special grants and privileges the artisans of other countries to bring with them the implements of their industry and employ them within her limits. Her policy is unchanged. The free trade she proclaims is theoretical, plausible, and delusive. Her revenue laws, and her treaty stipulations, however recent, with France, Portugal, the United States, and other countries, if they treat of the question of trade, guard the manufactures of England against the competition of those of any foreign nation.

The world hailed her welcoming of foreign grain as a step toward really reciprocal free trade. Her statesmen, however, saw in it a master-stroke by which her manufacturing supremacy would be maintained. Sir Robert Peel knew that the manufactures of England were the source of her power; that cheap food for her laborers was an element of cheap production; that so long as other nations would employ her to manufacture their raw materials it was immaterial whether she raised any grain at all; and that every acre of her arable land not required to raise green vegetables and the soft fruits which do not bear transportation, might be appro-

pritated to sheep walks and pasturage, and, through her well-protected and diversified industry she would draw from the prairies of the United States, the banks of the Nile, and the shores of the Baltic a supply of food far more generous than the insular dimensions of England could possibly yield.

Her policy is to undersell all others. To do this she must depress the wages of labor, and to accomplish this she must provide her laboring people at the lowest possible prices with the simple and coarse fare on which her low wages compel them to live. To have retained the duties on grain would have been, in so far, to tax raw materials, as we do, and she is too astute for that. She wants cheap food for her slaves as the southern planters did for theirs, and gets it as they did by forcing British free trade on the American people. She is the foe of the working-men of every country, and impairs their wages by depressing those of the men upon whose toil her own power depends. She protects the capital of England as we wish to protect the labor, ingenuity, and enterprise of the American people. Her aim is to be the workshop of the world, and to bind the people of all other lands to the rude employments of unskilled agriculture.

The agricultural interest resisted the repeal of the corn laws. To admit grain duty free it was said would ruin the farmers and lessen the market and taxable value of the land of the kingdom. But her experience has demonstrated the laws of social science and proved the harmony of interests by increasing the agricultural products of England in a ratio equal to the increased amount of her import of raw material and the extent of her home market.

FREE TRADE EXHAUSTS LAND AND IMPOVERISHES FARMERS.

I have said, sir, that a nation cannot prosper by commerce and agriculture alone; and our bitter experience of wasted lands and oft-recurring bankruptcy contrasted with the steadily increasing affluence of the agriculturists of England confirms the fact. Let us examine this question. We boast ourselves an agricultural people and are content to look to nations beyond the seas for the fabrics we consume and a market for our products. Not having a home market we cannot diversify our crops, but must confine ourselves to the production of those commodities which will keep long and bear transportation. Wheat, corn, pork, cotton, rice, tobacco, and hemp are our great staples, and our crops, omitting those produced within a radius around the large cities, narrowing as they diminish in importance, diminish from year to year, while those of England, stimulated and varied by a home market, increase so wonderfully that science pauses before declaring that she has yet ascertained the measure of wealth a single well-fed acre under scientific culture will yield. The

virgin soil of America gives back to the farmer at least thirty bushels of wheat to the acre; and in his early crops he does not fear the Hessian fly, the midge, weevil, or any insect-destroyer of grain. In the old wheat-growing States remote from cities, the same amount of labor bestowed upon an acre is rewarded by but seven or at best ten bushels, and the farmer regards himself as lucky whose fields are not visited once in three years by some of the deadly foes to wheat—the insects that live and swarm upon the diseased juices of feeble grain, the offspring of famished soil. The most carefully-prepared tables I have been able to find give twelve bushels or less as the average wheat crop per acre of America.

In England the fields are enriched by the bones, woolen rags, and other nutritious manures which we export; the grain crop is followed by a green crop, or those vegetables, the tops of which absorb from the atmosphere and return to the earth the aliment abstracted by cereals, and the amount of labor which, when England was a purely agricultural country, drew but from twelve to fifteen bushels of wheat from an acre, is now rewarded by from thirty-eight to forty-three bushels, or the equivalent thereof in roots for the sustenance of man and beast. Under our exhausting process of dragging or torturing from the earth the last elements of the white crop, and our exportation of stimulants and manures, our very fruit crop is disappearing. The diseased trees of the orchard, the apple, the pear, the plum, blossom and bring forth fruit, and the borer, the curculio, and others of the insect tribe that are sent to scourge us into good husbandry, revel in it, and it falls before maturity as if to give some subsistence to the starved stem that gave it its sickly life. This is no fancy sketch. In endeavoring to sell in the dearest money markets and buy where we can buy for least money, we have sold the very life of our acres and mortgaged ourselves to a class of middle-men, mostly foreigners, who take the results of our industry as the price of carrying our products to market and bringing us the few and inferior commodities—the tails—we receive in return for our skins. Our life is an inevitable game of cross purposes. Ambitious of commercial importance we produce only raw materials and can have no commerce, but must enhance the maritime power of our rival by employing her ships, sailors, and merchants to do our carrying; and while eager to keep down our steadily-increasing foreign indebtedness we ship our least bulky but most potent manures in the same British vessels that carry away our cotton, corn, and gold. The real balance of trade is ever against us, and our debts—commercial, corporate, and State—are ever increasing. Let us mine gold and silver never so fast, we can keep none of it. Our suspensions of specie payments are

periodical. Protective England maintains the balance of trade as steadily in her favor; and her statisticians calculate that her annual accumulation of surplus capital has attained the enormous dimensions of £50,000,000 or \$250,000,000. England offers no investments for this annual increase, and the managers of the railroads that carry our crops over our own soil to the sea-board for shipment extort exorbitant freights to enable them to pay interest on bonds sold at low rates to foreign holders, or pay large dividends to British capitalists who, in default of other investments offering profits equally great, have taken the stock. Without manufactures we can have neither commerce nor commercial marine; for a purely agricultural people, depending on foreign nations for a limited market, have nothing with which to freight vessels to the general markets of the world, and no assorted commodities to exchange for those that would enrich the country and build up upon the sea-board commercial emporiums with native citizens and American interests.

But, sir, let us look a little more closely at the effect of the mad theories propounded by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Voorhees] on the land of the country. Professor Henry gave it as his opinion, some years ago, (and I believe it to be true to-day,) that there was more wealth invested in our soil in fertilizing matter at the moment this country was discovered by Columbus than there is at present above the surface in improvements and all other investments. Ohio, justly proud of her comparatively superior American agriculture, was admonished by John H. Klippart, Esq., corresponding secretary of her State Board of Agriculture in 1860, that her staple crop, wheat, was annually decreasing in its yield per acre; that in less than fifty years the average product was reduced from thirty to less than fifteen bushels per acre, and that unless her farmers turned their attention, and that very soon, to the renovation of their wheat lands, even Ohio would soon be one of the non-wheat-producing States. During the first five years of the last decade her corn crop averaged $36\frac{81}{100}$ bushels to the acre, while during the last five years of the decade its average had fallen to $32\frac{25}{100}$. It matters little, practically, whether a man sell his acres or sell only their vital principle. It would have been better, could we have done it, that we had exported our acres in all their breadth and depth than to have extracted from them as we have, and exported or burned as fuel their productive power. We should then have seen that that market in which goods can be bought for the least money is not always the cheapest, and realized how fearful a price we were paying for the tails of the skins we had sold so recklessly.

I have referred to Ohio as an example, not because her case is exceptional, but because if it be exceptional it is in favor of her better than average American husbandry.

The South has been less desolated by war than by long-continued unreciprocal free trade with England. The ravages of war can soon be repaired. Houses, canals, and railroads can soon be rebuilt. Villages, as unimportant as those of the South, (and in this I embrace her cities all other than New Orleans,) are things of very rapid growth in countries where men are free to exercise their skill or enterprise, and industry is well rewarded. But who shall restore her waste lands? War was not the demon that blasted them; it was the free trade that England imposes on semi-civilized nations; it was the desire to create a monopoly of the cotton and sugar trade; it was the belief that a poor and ambitious people whose expenditures anticipated their annual crop could be victorious in a contest with a wealthy people whose diversified industry gave them the control of all markets, and whose surplus capital enabled them to choose their own time and place for purchasing. I will not describe what I have seen in the South, or take the reports brought by northern men. Let southern men describe the condition of their plantations.

A southern journal, which is quoted by Carey in his Social Science, but of which the name is not given, says:

"An Alabama planter says that cotton has destroyed more than earthquakes or volcanic eruptions. Witness the red hills of Georgia and South Carolina, which have produced cotton till the last dying gasp of the soil forbade any further attempt at cultivation; and the land, turned out to nature, reminds the traveler, as he views the dilapidated condition of the country, of the ruins of ancient Greece."

Dr. Daniel Lee, in his Progress of Agriculture, in the United States Patent Office Report for 1852, says:

"Cotton culture presents one feature which we respectfully commend to the earnest consideration of southern statesmen and planters, and that is the constantly increasing deterioration of the soil devoted mainly to the production of this important crop. Already this evil has attained a fearful magnitude; and under the present common practice it grows a little faster than the increase of cotton bales at the South. Who can say when or where this ever-augmenting exhaustion of the natural resources of the cotton growing States is to end, short of their ruin?"

De Bow, in his Resources of the South, published in 1852, says:

"The native soil of middle Georgia is a rich argillaceous loam, resting on a firm, clay foundation. In some of the richer counties nearly all the lands have been cut down and appropriated to tillage; a large maximum of which have been worn out, leaving a desolate picture for the traveler to behold—decaying tenements, red old hills, stripped of their native growth and virgin soil, and washed into deep gullies, with here and there patches of Bermuda grass and stunted pine shrubs, struggling for a scanty subsistence on what was once one of the richest soils of America."

Governor Hammond, in an address before the South Carolina Institute in 1849, after presenting the same class of facts, said:

"These are not mere paper calculations, or the gloomy speculations of a brooding fancy. They are illustrated and sustained by facts, current facts of our own day, within the knowledge of every one of us."

The process of impoverishment has been visibly and palpably going on step by step with the decline in the price of cotton."

Clement C. Clay, of Alabama, speaking in the United States Senate, said:

"I can show you, with sorrow, in the older portions of Alabama, in my native county of Madison, the sad memorials of the artless and exhausting culture of cotton. Our small planters, after taking the cream off their lands, unable to restore them by rest, manures, or otherwise, are going further West and South in search of other virgin lands, which they may and will despoil and impoverish in like manner." * * *

"In traversing that county, one will discover numerous farm-houses, once the abode of industrious and intelligent freemen, now occupied by slaves, or tenantless, deserted, and dilapidated; he will observe fields, once fertile, now unfenced, abandoned, and covered with those evil harbingers, foxtail and broom-sedge; he will see the moss growing on the moldering walls of once thrifty villages, and will find 'one only master grasp the whole domain' that once furnished happy homes for a dozen white families. Indeed a country in its infancy, where fifty years ago scarce a forest tree had been felled by the ax of the pioneer, is already exhibiting the painful signs of senility and decay apparent in Virginia and the Carolinas."

Dr. Lee, in the paper to which I have already referred, says:

"Of the land cultivated in this country, one hundred million acres are damaged to the extent of three dollars per acre per annum, or, in other words, a complete restitution of the elements of crops removed each year cannot be made short of an expense of \$300,000,000."

FREE TRADE KEEPS US IN SUBJECTION TO ENGLAND'S COLONIAL POLICY.

Sir, this is a melancholy picture to contemplate—a country wasted in its youth, and its people impoverished in the midst of abounding natural riches. And, sir, what adds to its somber character is the fact that it is not accidental—that it is not the result of Providence, save as Providence permits some men to trifle with their rights and interests and others to take advantage of their wickedness, weakness, or folly. It is the work of man; it is the result of design; it has been brought about as the end sought to be obtained by the sagacious and far-seeing legislators who have guided the counsels of Great Britain and their allies, the free trade leaders of the Democratic party of our country. The laws by which these melancholy results were produced are demonstrable, and have long been well understood. They are the golden rule as administered by selfish and perfidious England to young or feeble nations and her own colonies. They were understood by Locke when he prepared his essay on Civil Government. Dean Swift, as I have shown, expounded them when he endeavored to inspire the people of Ireland with wisdom and save to that unhappy country a future. They were understood by Andrew Gee when he published his work on Trade in 1750, and among other illustrations of his clear apprehension of them aid:

"Manufactures in our American colonies should be discouraged, prohibited." * * * "We ought always to keep a watchful eye over our colo-

nies, to restrain them from setting up any of the manufactures which are carried on in Great Britain; and any such attempts should be crushed at the beginning." * * * "Our colonies are much in the same state as Ireland was in when they began the woolen manufactory, and as their numbers increase, will fall upon manufactures for clothing themselves, if due care be not taken to find employment for them in raising such productions as may enable them to furnish themselves with all the necessaries from us."

* * * "As they will have the providing rough materials to themselves, so shall we have the manufacturing of them. If encouragement be given for raising hemp, flax, &c., doubtless they will soon begin to manufacture, if not prevented. Therefore, to stop the progress of any such manufacture, it is proposed that no weaver have liberty to set up any looms, without first registering at an office, kept for that purpose." * * *

"That all slitting-mills, and engines for drawing wire or weaving stockings, be put down." * * * "That all negroes be prohibited from weaving either linen or woolen, or spinning or combing wool, or working at any manufacture of iron, further than making it into pig or bar iron. That they also be prohibited from manufacturing hats, stockings, or leather of any kind. This limitation will not abridge the planters of any liberty they now enjoy; on the contrary, it will then turn their industry to promoting and raising those rough materials."

* * * "If we examine into the circumstances of the inhabitants of our plantations, and our own, it will appear that not one fourth of their product redounds to their own profit, for, out of all that comes here, they only carry back clothing and other accommodations for their families, all of which is of the merchandise and manufacture of this kingdom." * *

* * * "All these advantages we receive by the plantations, besides the mortgages on the planters' estates and the high interest they pay us, which is very considerable."

I think, sir, that I have shown by the extracts I have made from that remarkable book, "Cotton is King," that the men of the South understood the laws of trade (certain as that of gravitation) well enough to comprehend the fact that free trade must ultimately destroy the varied interests of the North. They may not, mad with ambition as they were, have seen that the operation of the laws whose penalties they were inflicting upon others would involve them in common destruction; but that they understood the fatal operation of free trade upon the great interests of the country is apparent in every chapter of the essay from which I have quoted.

I know not, sir, whether the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Voorhees] has studied the laws of social science, but they have been thoroughly comprehended by the statesmen of England, and furnish the key alike to her diplomacy and legislation. Illustrative of this is the case of Portugal. In the latter part of the seventeenth century she had established manufactures of woolen goods, which were thriving, adding to the comfort and prosperity of her people, and to her own respectability and power. They, however, needed protection against the hostile capital and more fully developed industry of England, and in 1684 the Government, discovering the advantages it derived from these manufactures, resolved to protect them by prohibiting the importation of foreign fabrics of the kind. Thenceforward their increase was so rapid as to attract the attention of British capitalists, who determined upon their destruction. This was not to be ac-

completed at once; but, evading the technical language of the law, they manufactured articles under names and of descriptions not precisely covered by the act of prohibition, which would supply their places, and threw them, in great abundance, into the Portuguese markets. The effect upon the industry of the country was soon felt, and the Government gave its attention to the matter and prohibited the introduction of these "serges and druggets." But British capitalists were as determined that their fabrics should clothe the people of Portugal as they have since been that we should consume their cotton, woolen, steel, iron, and other goods; and what they had been unable to accomplish by the mere force of capital or by skillful evasions of Portuguese laws, they at last achieved by diplomacy. Portugal failing to perceive that England could not produce Portuguese wines, as she cannot produce American cotton, hemp, rice, tobacco, and grain, listened to the words of such diplomacy as induced us to enter into the Canadian reciprocity treaty, and subjected the energy, ingenuity, and industry of her people and the raw material of the country to the control of the Government and capitalists of England; the inducement to this step, artfully put forward by Great Britain, was that the wines of Portugal should be admitted into Great Britain at a duty one third less than that imposed on wines imported from other countries. The effect of this treaty on the industry of Portugal is narrated by an English writer, who says:

"Before the treaty our woolen cloths, cloth serges, and cloth druggets were prohibited in Portugal. They had set up fabrics there for making cloth, and proceeded with very good success, and we might justly apprehend they would have gone on to erect other fabrics until at last they had served themselves with every species of woolen manufactures. The treaty takes off all prohibitions and obliges Portugal to admit forever all our woolen manufactures. Their own fabrics by this were perfectly ruined, and we exported £100,000 value in the single article of cloths the very year after the treaty.

"The court [of Portugal] was pestered with remonstrances from their manufacturers when the prohibition was taken off pursuant to Mr. Methuen's treaty. But the thing was passed, the treaty was ratified, and their looms were all ruined."—*British Merchantmen*, vol. 3, p. 253.

In the spirit of the diplomacy of Methuen was the parliamentary eloquence of Henry, now Lord Brougham, in 1815. Having described the effect of the peace of 1814, which bound continental Europe to the use of British manufactures, and produced an excessive exportation of British goods in that direction, he said:

"The peace of America has produced somewhat of the same effect, though I am very far from placing the vast exports which it occasioned upon the same footing with those to the European market the year before, both because ultimately the Americans will pay, which the exhausted state of the Continent renders very unlikely, and because it was well worth while to incur a loss upon the first exportation in order by the glut to stifle in the cradle those rising manufactures in the United States which the war has forced into existence contrary to the natural course of things."

Though I should not pause here, I cannot abstain from asking the gentleman from Indi-

ana [Mr. Voorhees] whether he is ready to permit "British capitalists" to glut our markets and stifle in the cradle the rising manufactures which the late war has called into existence? In further proof that they will do so and throw the workmen engaged in our furnaces, forges, factories, and workshops out of employment if we do not protect them, let me add that the commission appointed under the provisions of the act of 5th and 6th Victoria, chapter ninety-nine, showed how well it understood that the supremacy of Great Britain depends on the maintenance at whatever cost of her manufacturing supremacy, when, in the report to Parliament in 1854, it said:

"I believe that the laboring classes generally, in the manufacturing districts of this country, and especially in the iron and coal districts, are very little aware of the extent to which they are often indebted for their being employed at all to the immense losses which their employers voluntarily incur in bad times, in order to destroy foreign competition, and to gain and keep possession of foreign markets. Authentic instances are well known of employers having in such times carried on their work at a loss amounting in the aggregate to three or four hundred thousand pounds in the course of as many years. If the efforts of those who encourage the combinations to restrict the amount of labor, and to produce strikes, were to be successful for any length of time, the great accumulations of capital could no longer be made which enable a few of the most wealthy capitalists to overwhelm all foreign competition in times of great depression, and thus to clear the way for the whole trade to step in when prices revive, and to carry on a great business before foreign capital can again accumulate to such an extent as to be able to establish a competition in prices with any chance of success. The large capitals of this country are the great instruments of warfare against the competing capitalists of foreign countries, and are the most essential instruments now remaining by which our manufacturing supremacy can be maintained; the other elements—cheap labor, abundance of raw materials, means of communication, and skilled labor—being rapidly in process of being realized."

FRANCE, ENGLAND, PRUSSIA, SHODDY.

Nor, sir, have other nations failed to discover that social life is not subject to chance, or to enforce what are now termed the laws of social science. Indeed, the more sagacious and powerful nations have been compelled in self-defense to do what we—grand as are the dimensions and resources of our country—must do or be forever dependent and subject to ever more frequently-recurring periods of bankruptcy, private, corporate, State, and national.

Carlyle's brilliant word-painting depicts the horrors that flowed from contempt for the value of labor in France, and the historian of the rebellion just crushed will portray those which flowed from our disregard of the rights of the laboring people of our country. Had Louis XIV appreciated the value and national power of the skilled industry of France he would not have revoked the edict of Nantes, upon which, says Hume:

"Above half a million of the most useful and industrious subjects deserted France, and exported, together with immense sums of money, those arts and manufactures which had chiefly tended to enrich that country." * * * "Near fifty thousand refugees passed over into England."

Since the days of Colbert, however, with the exception of a brief term during which she adhered to the stipulations of a "reciprocity treaty," into which England inveigled her, France has protected her industry by prohibitory acts, by bounties or concessions, and by high protective duties. Her present astute ruler and the British Government have recently attempted to dazzle and mislead other nations with theories of free trade which neither was willing to carry into operation; but the tariff act prepared by M. Chevalier, after conference with Mr. Cobden, who, in his desire to improve the condition of the laboring classes of England by securing them cheap food, was led to adopt all the fallacies of the school of free traders, is perhaps the most scientifically protective revenue law ever devised.

France permits none of her raw material, which is not absolutely in excess of her demand for food or fabrics, to be exported; nor will she admit into her ports any article that may come in competition with her industry without requiring it to pay her and her people adequate compensation for the injury such admission might inflict. A recent illustration of this is before us. The free-trade papers are announcing that France has determined to admit raw whalebone free of duty. They cannot, however, tell us that she has consented to admit foreign hops on the same terms; for while inviting cargoes of whalebone to her ports, she has rejected the application for the free admission of hops. She welcomes the product of the American whaler, for whalebone enters into an infinite number of her manufactures. She has no domestic source from which she can derive the article; and the duty upon it, as upon any raw material, was a tax upon her manufacturers, or a bounty to their rivals. She therefore remits the duty for the same reason that she taxes hops. She produces much wine, and but little beer; and her own soil and labor furnish her with an adequate supply of hops for all uses within her limits. To admit them would be to injure her agriculturists, and, perchance, to stimulate an appetite for a beverage that might injure the markets for French wines.

We ship in the same vessel our wheat, and the bones, rags, and other refuse matter which would, were our own industry broadly diversified, after application to many purposes of use and pleasure, restore to the earth the elements extracted from it by the tons of wheat which they accompany to foreign markets. These France, England, and Germany guard most sedulously, and in a pamphlet now before me, entitled "The History of the Shoddy Trade, its Rise, Progress, and Present Position," published in London in 1860, I find that in England—

"Materials regarded at one time as almost worthless, are converted, by the improved processes of manual labor and machinery, into valuable elements

of textile manufactures. The seams or refuse of rags are used, after lying to rot, for the purpose of manuring arable land, particularly the hop grounds of Kent and adjacent counties, and are also made into flock partially for bedding and stuffing uses. They are, moreover, (which seems strange indeed,) manufactured into a chemical substance, namely, prussiate of potash, a valuable agent in dyeing. Shoddy dust, too, which is the dirt emitted from rags and shoddy in their processes, is useful as tillage in like manner with the waste which falls under scribbling-engines. The latter is saturated with oil, in which consists, mainly, the fertilizing property. Waste is of more value than dust for farming purposes, the former having been generally about double the price of the latter; but dust has of late increased in value so as to be well nigh equal to waste. A large quantity of these materials is annually sent from this district (the West Riding of York) into Kent and other counties to till the soil. Shoddy dust is useful in other respects than as tillage. It is now even carefully preserved in separate colors and applied in the manufacture of flock paper-hangings, which are the best description of this article. Not a single thing belonging to the rag and shoddy system is valueless or useless. There are no accumulations or mountains of debris to take up room or disfigure the landscape; all, good, bad, and indifferent, are beneficially appropriated."

Of these valuable materials this little work shows me that America furnishes England more than any other nation, and that in point of quality her woolen rags are the best, even better than those derived from the city of London; that so largely are we the consumers of the cloths manufactured in greater or less part from our own refuse matter, that a commercial crisis in this country affects every manufacturer in the shoddy districts; and that the most calamitous eras in the history of the generally thriving towns depending on this manufacture were the years immediately following 1837 and 1857, when their industry was entirely suspended by the destruction of the American market.

France, less lavish of her wealth and more careful of the welfare of her people than we, sedulously guards such elements of wealth and comfort. How sedulously, will appear from the following extract from the little work I have just quoted:

"As to rags, we have not been able to import any from France, on account of their having been prohibited as an article of export; but according to the treaty of commerce just concluded between France and England [that arranged between Chevalier and Cobden] the former has engaged to remove the prohibition, but reserves the privilege of imposing a heavy duty on rags shipped thence to this country. The amount of duty has not been fixed yet, we believe; but there are fears on our part that it will be such as to preclude either paper or woolen rags being brought over to any material extent."

The fear expressed by the writer was well founded. Shrewd men played at an intricate game when that treaty was made; and while France consented far enough to give a text upon which she and England might preach free trade to the other nations of the world, she reserved to herself the amplest power to maintain the most perfect defensive warfare between her interests and those of aggressive England.

Prior to 1844 England herself subjected rag-wool, that is, shoddy-wool prepared from rags by any other nation, to a duty of a half-penny

per pound; but when other nations refused to sell her their rags in bulk, the prepared or rag-wool became the nearest approach she could obtain in adequate supply to that species of raw material, and she abolished the duty which, light as it was, favored the industry of her rivals.

Nor is Prussia behind France and England in this matter, for the same pamphlet tells me that at Berlin there are a number of manufactories of rag-wool, several of which have been established by enterprising Englishmen from the shoddy towns of Dewsbury and Batley.

"These factories," says the writer, "produce both shoddy and mungo, and appear to be successful undertakings. The principal reason why our countrymen prosecute this business at Berlin and other places in Prussia is because that Government levies a heavy duty on the exportation of rags, and permits shoddy, the manufactured article, to go out free, thus affording facilities for an export trade in rag-wool not extended to rags."

Insignificant as the territory of Prussia is in comparison with ours, the Government has found it well to insist upon Englishmen who wish to work the raw materials of the country coming with capital and machinery to furnish employment to the men, women, and children of the country with the growth of the land, and to supply agricultural stimulants and a market for agricultural products within its limits, rather than repeat the unsuccessful experiment of clothing the people in foreign goods by selling their raw material at a price fixed by a distant customer and buying it back in cloth at prices fixed by the same party. Will the American people never learn this simple lesson?

SECRET OF BONAPARTE'S POWER.

The first Napoleon said, and his words cannot be too often repeated in a republican country, a majority of whose people are dependent on their labor:

"In feudal times there was one kind of property—land; but there has grown up another—industry. They are alike entitled to the protection and defense of the Government."

And how did he attempt to protect and defend what was and ever will be almost the only property and dependence of the majority of the people—their skill and industry? Let us learn from Chaptal, his Minister of the Interior, who in his work on the Industry of France, says:

"A sound legislation on the subject of duties on imports is the true safeguard of agriculture and manufacturing industry. It countervails the disadvantages under which our manufactures labor from the condition of the price of workmanship or fuel. It shields the rising arts by prohibitions, thus preserving them from the rivalry of foreigners until they arrive at complete perfection. It tends to establish the national independence, and enriches the country by useful labor, which, as I have repeatedly said, is the principal source of wealth." * * * "It has been almost everywhere found that rising manufactures are unable to struggle against establishments cemented by time, nourished by numerous capitals, with a credit established by continued success, and conducted by numbers of experienced and skillful artists. We have been forced to have recourse to prohibition to ward off the competition of foreign productions." * * *

* * * "I go further: even at the present time, when these various species of industry are in a flourishing

state, when there is nothing to desire with regard to the price or quality of our productions, a duty of but fifteen per cent., which would open the door to the competition of foreign fabrics, would shake to their foundations all the establishments which exist in France. Our stores would in a few days be crowded with foreign merchandise, *which would be sold at any price in order to extinguish our industry.* Our manufactories would be devoted to idleness through the impossibility of the proprietors making the same sacrifices as foreigners; and we should behold the same scenes as followed the treaty of commerce of 1786 although it was concluded on the basis of fifteen per cent." * * *

"Cotton yarn forms the raw material of our numerous laces and calicoes. If we freely open our ports to this material, which has undergone but a single operation, behold the infallible results. One hundred million livres at present production would be destroyed for the spinning manufactures of France, because it is invested in buildings, utensils, and machinery constructed for this purpose alone; two hundred thousand persons would be deprived of employment; eighteen millions of manual labor would be lost to France, and our commerce would be deprived of one of its principal resources, which consists in the transportation of cotton and wool from Asia and America to France.

"Let it not be presumed that I deceive myself. I am well acquainted with the state of our cotton spinning and that of the two neighboring countries. In France, it is true, manual labor is cheap, but on the other side more extensive establishments, supported by large capitals, afford advantages against which it is impossible for us as yet to struggle. To this must be added that the English spinning machinery has been in use for sixty years, that the proprietors are indemnified for all the expenses of their first establishment, that the profits have been converted into new capitals, whereas ours are of recent formation, and the interest of the first investment ought for a long time to be computed in all the calculations of the profits of the manufactory. The English manufacturer, reimbursed for his first investment, and possessing a large capital, *is able to make sacrifices to overwhelm and level us,* whereas the French manufacturer is destitute of defense unless protected by the tariff."

Chaptal understood as thoroughly as Brougham that England had the power, and that it was her constant policy to "stifle the infant manufactures" of other nations "in the cradle." His language is as applicable to our interests now as it was to those of France when uttered; and we can find no other safeguard for our agricultural and commercial interests than such sound legislation on the subject of duties on imports as protected the infant but rising manufactures of France.

I cannot abstain, sir, from submitting to your consideration in this connection a brief specimen of vigorous condensation from the instructive address of John L. Hayes, Esq., before the National Association of Wool Manufacturers:

"No sooner had the First Consul, Bonaparte, grasped with a firm hand the reins of state, than he resolved to develop upon the French soil all the elements of wealth concealed within its bosom. He wished to appropriate for France all sciences, arts, and industries. Made a member of the Institute he uttered this noble sentiment: 'The true power of the French republic should consist, above all, in its not allowing a single new idea to exist which it does not make its own;' to learn the necessities and resources of the nation, he called upon savans, painters, and artisans to adorn with their productions the vast hall of the Louvre. From this epoch a new career was opened to the industry of France, which found its most magnificent protector in the chief of the State. Napoleon said: 'Spain has twenty-five million merinos; I wish

France to have a hundred millions.' To effect this, among other administrative aids, he established sixty additional sheep-folds to those of Rambouillet, where agriculturists could obtain the use of Spanish rams without expense. By the continental blockade, he closed France and the greater part of Europe against English importations; and the manufacturers of France were pushed to their utmost to supply, not only their domestic, but European consumption. They had to replace, by imitating them, the English commodities to which the people had been so long accustomed. The old routines of manufacturing were abandoned, and the reign of the emperor became, in all the industrial arts, one long series of discoveries and progress. Napoleon saw that the conquest of the industry of England was no less important than the destruction of its fleets and armies. He appealed to patriotism, as well as science and the arts, to aid him in his strife with the modern Carthage. Visiting the establishment for printing calicoes of the celebrated Oberkampf, Napoleon said to him, as he saw the perfection of the fabrics: 'We are both of us carrying on a war with England; but I think that yours, after all, is the best.' These words, says M. Randoing, 'so flattering and so just, were repeated from one end of France to the other; they so inflamed the imaginations of the people that the meanest artisan, believing himself called upon to be the auxiliary of the great man, had but one thought, the ruin of England.'

WHAT PROTECTION HAS DONE FOR GERMANY.

Before the establishment of the Zoll-Verein, which occurred in 1835, Germany exported raw materials. Having sold her skins for a sixpence, she bought back what few tails she could, at any price. Her laboring people were poor, and, as is now the case in Ireland, in such excess of her ability to feed and clothe them, that she was ever ready to sell a contingent to any party that might be engaged in war, and if need be to swell the ranks of both contending armies in any war. In the absence of protective duties, there was nothing of so little value to her as an able-bodied German peasant. But the establishment of that Customs-Union has changed all this. It protects her industry, and as a consequence she imports raw materials from America and all other countries that adhere to her ancient semi-barbarous policy, and exports her grain and wool condensed into broadcloth and the multiform products of well-protected industry. The annual crop derived from her soil increases per acre steadily as that of England, and in about the ratio of the diminution of ours. Wise laws have here again demonstrated the truth that there is a harmony between the varied interests of the people of a country, and that by a wide and universal diversification of employments the welfare of each and all is advanced.

Forty years ago England had not perfected her protective system so far as to admit all raw materials free of duty, and Germany sold her thirty million pounds of raw wool, upon which she collected a duty of twelve cents a pound, part of which when manufactured into low grades of cloth she sold at immense profits in Germany. But thirty years of protection have changed all this. Germany now raises over seventy million pounds of wool, and imports very considerable quantities; and having com-

pacted her grain and wool into fine cloths she exports them to all parts of the world. When the Zoll-Verein was formed, says Henry C. Carey,

"The total import of raw cotton and cotton yarn was about three hundred thousand cuts; but so rapid was the extension of the manufacture that in less than six years it had doubled; and so cheaply were cotton goods supplied, that a large export trade had already arisen. In 1845, when the union was but ten years old, the import of cotton and yarn had reached a million of hundred weights, and since that time there has been a large increase. The iron manufacture, also, grew so rapidly that whereas, in 1834, the consumption had been only eleven pounds per head, in 1847 it had risen to twenty-five pounds, having thus more than doubled; and with each step in this direction, the people were obtaining better machinery for cultivating the land and for converting its raw products into manufactured ones."

WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON, AND JACKSON.

In what strange contrast with this policy so fruitful of blessings has been that which we have pursued, and of which the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Voorhees] claims President Johnson as an adherent. Opposed to privileged classes, we have legislated in the interests of but one class, and that an oligarchy; proclaiming "the greatest good of the greatest number" as our supreme desire, we have so legislated as to impair the value of labor, the only property of a majority of our people; vaunting our national independence, we have so legislated as to prevent our escape from a condition of commercial, manufacturing, and financial dependence; and while justly proud of our general intelligence, we have so legislated as to justify the manufacturing and commercial nations of the world in classing us among the semi-barbarous governments whose people, rich in natural wealth, have not the capacity to mold and transmute raw materials into articles of utility, comfort, and refinement, and in ranking the people of the United States, in their estimation, with those of Turkey, Portugal, Ireland, and the mixed races of Central and South America. The fathers of the country were, in this matter, wiser than their children. They had suffered from the rigid enforcement by Great Britain of Andrew Gee's suggestion to "keep a watchful eye over our colonies, and restrain them from setting up any of the manufactures which are carried on in Great Britain;" and they knew that if the nation they had founded was to be powerful, and its people prosperous, they must be relieved from that policy by the only means possible—the adherence to those defensive laws which would protect an infant against the aggressions of a giant. The Constitution was adopted in 1787; President Washington was inaugurated in 1789, and in his address of the 8th of January, 1790, said:

"The safety and interest of the people require that they should promote such manufactures as tend to render them independent of others for essential, particularly for military supplies."

* And on the 15th of the same month, Congress resolved

"That it be referred to the Secretary of the Treas-

ury to propose and report to this House a proper plan or plans conformably to the recommendations of the President in his speech to both Houses of Congress, for the encouragement and promotion of such manufactures as will tend to render the United States independent of other nations for essential, particularly for military supplies."

And in 1791 Congress adopted an act for imposing duties on imports, the preamble of which contains the following language:

"Whereas it is necessary for the support of the Government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufactures, that duties be laid on goods, wares, and merchandise imported."

In a communication five years later than this, Washington said:

"Congress have repeatedly directed their attention to the encouragement of manufactures. The object is of too much importance not to insure a continuance of these efforts in every way which shall appear eligible."

And Mr. Jefferson, in his message of 1802, said that—

"To cultivate peace, maintain commerce and navigation, to foster our fisheries, and protect manufactures adapted to our circumstances, &c., are the landmarks by which to guide ourselves in all our relations."

These expressions are inconsistent with the opinions adverse to the policy of fostering manufacturers in this country embodied by Jefferson in his Notes on Virginia in 1785; but he was not one of those fools who hold it a weakness to change an opinion, even under the discipline of experience; and in a letter to Mr. Benjamin Austin, dated January 9, 1816, when the subject of a protective tariff was agitated by the people and was about to be brought to the attention of Congress, said in support of his matured judgment:

"You tell me I am quoted by those who wish to continue our dependence on England for manufactures. There was a time when I might have been so quoted with more candor." * * * "We have since experienced what we did not then believe, that there exists both profligacy and power enough to exclude us from the field of interchange with other nations—that to be independent for the comforts of life, we must fabricate them ourselves. *We must now place the manufacturer by the side of the agriculturist.*" * * * "He, therefore, who is now against domestic manufactures must be for reducing us either to dependence on that foreign nation, or to be clothed in skins and to live like wild beasts in dens and caverns. I am proud to say that I am not one of these. *Experience has taught me that manufactures are now as necessary to our independence as to our comfort; and if those who quote me as of a different opinion will keep pace with me in purchasing nothing foreign where an equivalent of domestic fabric can be obtained, without any regard to difference of price, it will not be our fault if we do not have a supply at home equal to our demand, and wrest that weapon of distress from the hand which has so long wantonly violated it.*"

General Jackson's oft-quoted letter to Dr. Coleman, of North Carolina, was about eight years later than that of Mr. Jefferson, and nothing that he ever wrote illustrates more admirably his strong common sense and devotion to the rights and interests of all the people of the Union which he so resolutely defended. Writing to one of that class who have been pleased to call themselves "planters," to distin-

guish them from the "hard-fisted farmers" of the North, upon whose interests they were then waging war, that they might secure cheap food for their slaves, he said:

"I will ask, what is the real situation of the agriculturist? Where has the American farmer a market for his surplus products? Except for cotton, he has neither a foreign nor a home market. Does not this clearly prove, when there is no market, either at home or abroad, that there is too much labor employed in agriculture, and that the channels of labor should be multiplied? Common sense points out at once the remedy. Draw from agriculture the superabundant labor; employ it in mechanism and manufactures, thereby creating a home market for your breadstuffs, and distributing labor to a most profitable account; and benefits to the country will result. Take from agriculture in the United States six hundred thousand men, women, and children, and you at once give a home market for more breadstuffs than all Europe now furnishes us. In short, sir, we have been too long subject to the policy of the British merchants. It is time we should become a little more Americanized, and instead of feeding the paupers and laborers of Europe, feed our own; or else, in a short time, by continuing our present policy, we shall all be paupers ourselves."

MAN CANNOT COMPROMISE PRINCIPLES.

Mr. Chairman, why have we not regarded the teachings of history, the monitions of the fathers, the oft-recurring and bitter experience of the past? Why have we been content, at intervals of from seven to ten years, to find the mass of artisans and artificers of the country without employment, drawing from the savings bank their hoarded earnings, seeing the little homes, under the roofs of which they had hoped in ripe age to die, passing under the sheriff's hammer; and to see the forge, the furnace, the mill, and the workshop idle, and changing hands by forced sale oftentimes at less than a fourth, and sometimes at but a tithe of their original cost? Why have we been content to see the crop of the farmer rot in the field, while the laboring people of the cities were gnawed by hunger, and causing doubts of the stability of republican institutions by threatening, and in at least one instance absolutely perpetrating, bread riots? Why has our march of emigration been a march of desolation, and the son of him who emigrated to Ohio as the far West, finding his labor unrewarded by the famished land, been constrained to cry "Westward ho!" and go to contend with the trials and deprivations of frontier life, and found a new State still more remote from markets?

And why was it, sir, that when those who would overthrow our Government fired upon the flag, that, with our unequalled ingenuity, our sheep walks of limitless extent, our boundless water power, and our measureless stores of coal and iron, we were unable to provide adequate clothing and arms for the seventy-five thousand men summoned to our defense? There is but one answer to all these questions. We suffered all these ills because we had disregarded the laws I am endeavoring to illustrate and other fundamental truths in which, on every public occasion, we proclaim our belief;

had endeavored to maintain in this free and busy age an anachronism, involving the denial of all rights, and the repression of the native ability of the laborers of one half of our country; and had endeavored to prove the solecism that slavery is an essential element of free institutions, and adds to the power of a country contending for supremacy with nations that are using every expedient to animate the industry, ingenuity, and enterprise of their people. By oppressing others we enfeebled and degraded ourselves. Slavery has its laws, and they are irreconcilable with those which quicken industry and develop material power. Time will not permit, nor is this the occasion for their discussion. It is enough for the present to say that they do not tolerate intelligent or required labor. They were understood and enforced by the slave-owning oligarchy, and were submitted to by the masses of the people, whose pride of race artfully fostered, deluded them into the belief that the inequalities of caste were consistent with the democracy of a professedly Christian republic. At last the delusion is dispelled, and with it go the cruel necessities by which those who, being freemen, were, under the compromises of the Constitution, enslaved by the inherent laws of slavery; and our country having corrected the solecism and banished the anachronism, may now enter upon a career of competition with the most advanced nations of the world. The vast and varied attractions the United States present to the hopeful, the enterprising, the ingenious and the skilled workmen of the world, are the means by which we may enfeeble all rival Powers, while building up our own, and augmenting the prosperity of our rapidly-increasing people. Slavery being dead, let us entomb with it its twin barbarism, British free trade. Henceforth our legislation may well be directed to advancing the greatest good not only of the greatest number, but the unquestioned good of all; and in this it will stand in strange contrast with its purposes and policy in the past. To show how wide that contrast will be, let me turn again to *King Cotton*. On page 96 of this royal volume I find it written:

"At the date of the passage of the Nebraska bill, the multiplication of provisions by their more extended cultivation, was the only measure left that could produce a reduction of prices and meet the wants of the planters. *The Canadian reciprocity treaty, since secured, will bring the products of the British North American colonies, free of duty, into competition with those of the United States when prices with us rule high.*"

This was not written by an English hand.

Our forges, furnaces, and factories were unprofitable capital. Coal, ore, and limestone lay undisturbed in the places of their original deposit, and mechanics of skill and energy went begging for employment. Yet an American writer rejoiced that the means had been secured by which the farmers of the country could be made to suffer with the afflicted multitude. With that want of patriotism which has long char-

acterized the leaders of the Democratic party, he exulted over the subjection of the agricultural interests of his country to those of British North America by that misnamed reciprocity treaty with Canada which southern influence had forced upon us, and lauded it as the sure means by which the farmer should be driven to a still greater distance from all other markets than that afforded by the few hundred thousand men who regarded no interests but their own, and believed that these could only be protected by procuring still cheaper food for their millions of slaves.

But listen to him again. On page 123 I find the following:

"From what has been said, the dullest intellect cannot fail now to perceive the *rationale* of the Kansas-Nebraska movement. The political influence which these Territories will give to the South will be of the first importance to perfect its arrangement for future slavery extension, whether by division of the larger States and Territories now secured to the institution, its extension into territory hitherto considered free, or the acquisition of new territory to be devoted to the system, so as to preserve the balance of power in Congress. *When this is done, Kansas and Nebraska, like Kentucky and Missouri, will be of little consequence to slaveholders compared with the cheap and constant supply of provisions they can yield. Nothing, therefore, will so exactly coincide with southern interests as a rapid emigration of freemen into these new Territories. White free labor, doubly productive over slave labor in grain-growing, must be multiplied within their limits, that the cost of provisions may be reduced, and the extension of slavery and the growth of cotton suffer no interruption.* The present efforts to plant them with slavery are indispensable to produce sufficient excitement to fill them speedily with a free population; and if this whole movement has been a southern scheme to cheapen provisions and increase the ratio of the production of sugar and cotton, as it most unquestionably will do, it surpasses the statesmanlike strategy which forced the people into an acquiescence in the annexation of Texas. And should the anti-slavery voters succeed in gaining the political ascendancy in these Territories, and bring them as free States triumphantly into the Union, *what can they do but turn in as all the rest of the western States have done, and help to feed slaves, or those who manufacture or sell the products of the labor of slaves?*"

These paragraphs show that the slaveholders achieved what an examination of the topography of the country might have led them to regard as a last grand triumph. Their system held undisputed sway; and let me ask whether, had they been content to live under the Government that existed, it could have prospered long? Two interests alone were to be pursued: the growing of grain in the North and West, and the growing of cotton, sugar, rice, tobacco, and hemp in the South. In the light of the extracts, showing the rapid exhaustion of our soil by the exportation of its products, which I presented in the earlier part of my remarks, and of the experience of every farmer and planter, will it be asserted that this system of culture could long have continued? Science could have calculated the years of its possible duration with almost perfect accuracy. When, under such a system, could the earth have rest for recuperation? And whence could come the stimulants to restore its wasted energies? The

system omitted these essential conditions of prosperity, and thereby provided for its own decline. The scheme was an impracticable one, which though it might have served as a temporary expedient, could not endure, for it was in conflict with the laws of Providence.

It may be that an indistinct perception of this drove the oligarchy to the madness of war; for all now admit that there was not, in the election of Mr. Lincoln, or the purposes of the Republican party, anything to justify their attempt to destroy the Union by war. But, be this as it may, the war did but hasten, by a few years, the inevitable termination of their persistent folly and crime. The commercial crisis of 1860, following so closely upon that of 1857, and repeating, as both did so minutely, in all their details, the disastrous and wide-spread incidents of 1837 and 1840, would in themselves have constrained the people to demand such legislation as would promote and secure a diversification of our industries, the development of our resources, and the laying of foundations for a widely-extended commerce. The American people had become too numerous, too enlightened, too energetic, and had endured too many of these commercial crises to have been willing longer to submit their fortunes and destinies to the control of the few arrogant theorists, whose views were so narrow and whose fancied interests were so diametrically opposed to those of all the rest of their countrymen.

THEN AND NOW.

Sir, let us contemplate for a moment our condition when the champions of slavery and free trade fired on the flag of the country. April, 1861, found us unable to clothe our soldiers or furnish them with implements and munitions of war. When the President called for seventy-five thousand troops, and that number of the flower of our countrymen promptly responded, they were clad, not in our blue alone, but in gray, the chosen color of our enemy, in black, in red, or any other color, because we had not the proper material with which to clothe them. We had not the quality of iron from which to fashion a gun barrel, nor could we make it. We had not blankets to shield our men from rain or frost, in camp or bivouac; and as the people regarded the base character of the articles with which our Army was provided, many of which had been made from American rags in the shoddy towns of Yorkshire, they raised a universal cry of "fraud" against both public officers and contractors. Our mills, forges, furnaces, and factories stood still. The frugal laborer was living upon the earnings of past years. Commerce, having dwindled from the expiration of the protective tariff of 1842, had ceased to animate our ports. The crops of the West stood ungathered in the fields, and the bankruptcy of 1857, from which we had not yet recovered, had returned to sweep away the few who had withstood the surge.

But the case is altered now. Necessity has compelled us to do what reason and experience long ago suggested. The fact that we determined to pay in gold the interest on our bonds and to obtain the required bullion by collecting the duties on imports in coin, has done much to animate and diversify our industry. This fact and the general results of the war—for the duties we lay on raw materials and our internal taxes more than counterbalance the protection afforded to many branches of industry by our tariff laws—have enabled us to recover from our prostration and started us in a career of prosperity and progress; and if wisdom guide our legislation, the waste lands of which I have read will soon be reinvigorated; the ancient village will be absorbed in the expanding city; new towns will mark the plain and river bank; and where the mean white and the negro have loitered listlessly through the months, diversified and well-paid industry, quickening their energies and expanding their desires, will employ all their hours, and enable each to carve his way as an American citizen should do in a career that will afford him pleasure or profit. The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES] may desire to recall the idleness and misery of 1860, but I cannot believe that he is justified in intimating that President Johnson sympathizes with him in this respect.

VIRGINIA.

General Frank P. Blair, jr., intent upon neutralizing any service he may have rendered the country during the war, having gathered about him the representative men of the eighty thousand disfranchised traitors of Missouri with whom he now affiliates, recently charged, as does the gentleman from Indiana, that the Republican party of the country is under the control of men whose object is to aggrandize New England, and by a protective tariff tax the agricultural interests of the country for the benefit of a few wealthy manufacturers, and that the resistance offered to the admission of representatives of the conquered but unregenerated people of the South in Congress is the result of this purpose. How false this is he well knows; for every member of the family in the councils of which he bears so distinguished a part, and which always speaks as a unit, may be shown, by their published utterances, to understand that protection to American industry is essential to the prosperity of the agricultural interests of the country. Adequate protection to American industry, its defense against the assaults of the accumulated capital, machinery, cheap labor, and skill of foreign countries, is of less importance to the middle and New England States than to any other portion of the country. The wasted South most needs it; and next to the South the Northwest, rich in all the elements of manufacturing greatness, and poor only from her want of local markets, which the diversification of her industry and

development of her multifarious resources would create.

Sir, Virginia is not a New England State; nor do her people delight in being called Yankees, though they will hereafter be as proud as we are of our national cognomen. But no portion of our country, unless it be General Blair's own Missouri, with her boundless stores of varied mineral wealth, would be so blessed by setting all its poor at work upon the growth of its own lands as Virginia. A discriminating writer, who in August last traversed a large portion of the gold region of the State, in company with three eminent mineralogists, in the course of an article in the December number of Harper's Magazine, says:

"To give any adequate description of the mineral wealth which Virginia contains, would be not only to minutely describe every rod of her entire length, embracing hundreds of miles, but to enumerate almost every mineral of value hitherto known among mankind. It is not in gold alone that she abounds—but, scattered in profusion over almost her entire surface are to be found iron, copper, silver, tin, tellurium, lead, platinum, cinnabar, plumbago, manganese, asbestos, kaolin, slate clay, coal, roofing slate of the greatest durability, marbles of the rarest beauty, soap stone, sulphur, hone-stone equal to the best Turkey, gypsum, lime, copperas, blue stone, grind stone, cobalt, emery, and a variety of other materials that we have hitherto been compelled to import or to do without. Indeed, it may be said, without exaggeration, that in the single State of Virginia, in the most singular juxtaposition of what might be considered geologically incongruous materials, is to be found an almost exhaustless fund of God-given treasures, more than enough to pay off our whole national debt, and only awaiting the magic touch of capital and enterprise to drag them to light for the benefit of man."

Of what avail have these boundless deposits of multiform riches been to the people of Virginia, and what have the Democratic party, slavery, and British free trade done for their most fortunately situated and devoted adherents? The aristocracy of Virginia have withheld from the laborer his hire, and the native fertility of their land has wasted away. They have traded in human muscels as a source of power, and laboring men have shunned their inviting climate; and their water power, exceeding in one year the muscular power all the slaves found in the United States at the taking of the last census, could put forth in a lifetime, has flowed idly to the sea, often through forests so wide that it could "hear no sound save its own dashing." And the State, from having at the close of the last century been the first in point of population and political power, fell, in sixty years, as is shown by the census of 1860, to be the fifth in population, and to rank the equal of free young Indiana in the fifth class in political power.

The laws of Providence are inflexible and it could not be otherwise. Despising labor, the Heaven-appointed condition on which alone man shall eat bread, she tended year by year toward poverty and want, and though she raised millions of laboring people of every shade of human complexion, the sweat of their brows enriched not her fields but those of other States.

Like Germany before the establishment of the Zoll-Verein, and Ireland since the Union, she raised little else than laboring people for exportation. If he that fails to provide for his family be worse than an infidel, what shall be said of the Government that drives the heirs to so goodly a heritage as the lands of Virginia forth to dwell among strangers in want and ignorance.

The Republicans of New England and the middle States would make all her people comfortable, happy, and intelligent, in the homes of their fathers. We of Pennsylvania will welcome them to generous rivalry in every branch of industry to which we have devoted ourselves. In this age of iron, fire is force, and Virginia is underlaid by the purest fuel. If she wishes to leave her rich gold and silver mines in all their wealth to posterity, let her rival us in contributing to the needed supply of iron and steel for the exhausted South. Her kaolin is equal to any in England, and why will she not lessen our dependence on that country by building up an American Staffordshire, and embodying in porcelain the conceptions of American art? And as the product of the quarries of New Jersey and northeastern Pennsylvania have driven British roofing and school slates from our northern market, why will not she send hers to every market in the South? The country would be none the less powerful or respectable if every child in that section, however black, were expert in the use of the slate and pencil, or if their now squalid homes were embellished, as are those of many of the working people of the North, by ornate brackets, bracket shelves, mantles, pier slabs, and table, bureau, and washstand tops of what everybody but the connoisseur and expert mistakes for porcelain, mosaic, or Spanish, Egyptian, red and green Pyrenese, verd-antique, Siennese, porphyry, brocatel, or other marbles, but which are produced at little cost from the slate of Lehigh county.

PENNSYLVANIA CHALLENGES GENEROUS COMPETITION.

Is it said, sir, that Pennsylvania seeks to obtain a monopoly of the American iron market? Why, then, does she ask you to so legislate that capital shall find its advantage, and the laborer become rich, in working the unmeasured iron and coal-beds of her near neighbors, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee? England can no longer supply herself with charcoal pig iron. She has not the fuel. Her forests have yielded to the demand for pasturage and sheep walks. She is in this respect dependent on foreign countries, and buys such pig metal as raw material where she can get it best and cheapest, from Sweden, Norway, Russia, or Nova Scotia, all of which are in the same isothermal zone in which are found, underlying forests which yield an average of fifty cords per acre, the inexhaustible beds of better than Swedish ore of the Marquette region of Michigan and Wisconsin. And, gentlemen of the

Northwest, I ask you whether patriotic Pennsylvania manifests a disposition to tax you for her advantage when she challenges your competition, and implores you to help her to outdo England without fighting, and enrich yourselves by setting unemployed laborers at work with the growth of your own lands. The Bessemer or pneumatic converter is coming largely into use, and the exigencies of the war and the incidental protection it has given our industry have created manufactories of American steel; and in each of these facts you have a guarantee of steady increase in the demand for your unrivaled product, and of the profits of the railroad companies, which will carry away your commodities and return with people to build the cities your expanding iron and steel works must create. A few figures will verify these assertions. Dr. Robert H. Lamborn, than whom there is no more careful statistician, tells us that—

“By comparing the production of this region with that of other iron districts, it will be found that it produced in 1864 more pig metal than Connecticut or Massachusetts in the same year, and sixty per cent. more than New York in 1850. Reckoning ore and metal together, the mines of Marquette threw into consumption in 1864 one hundred and fifty-four thousand nine hundred and five tons of metal, or three fifths as much as the total pig-iron production of the United States, according to the census returns of 1850, and one eighth of all the pig iron produced by the United States in 1864.”

In view of these gratifying facts, can it be possible that the people of the Northwest are anxious for an early renewal of the “*tripartite* alliance formed by the western farmer, the southern planter, and the English manufacturer,” so exultantly referred to in “*Cotton is King*,” by which the furnaces producing all this metal shall be closed, and their proprietors and the laborers they employ reduced to bankruptcy, as those of Ohio and Pennsylvania have so often been by British free trade?

If, gentlemen of Missouri, Pennsylvania is seeking a monopoly, why do her people labor to persuade you to produce at the base of Iron mountain and Pilot Knob the utilities to the creation of which they devote their capital and industry? No, our efforts are not selfish. We wish to raise the prostrate South and give her an onward and upward career, and to secure to the American laborer wages so liberal that the report thereof shall invite to our shores the skilled and enterprising workmen of every craft and country. By employing all our people with the growth of our own lands we can create an urgent demand for labor, and thereby solve the most difficult problem before the country; for when labor is in quick demand its value will be regarded and the rights of the laborer protected.

By no other means can the exhausted South be restored or the work of her recuperation be commenced. Who will emigrate to the recently insurgent States? Vast and varied and pecu-

liar as are their natural resources, will capital, proverbially timid as it is, fly to a region characterized by turbulence and lawlessness, or enterprise to a land in which labor is regarded as the disgraceful office of a subject race, and where legislation is employed to repress the intellect and suppress the aspirations of the laboring people for a higher and better life? Sir, there is not a northern State that does not outbid them for emigrants and offer superior inducements to the capitalist and those that are infinitely more attractive to him who has but his labor and that of his family to sell. Pennsylvania needs a million laborers. She can feed and clothe and house them all should they come to her in the current year. We want them to gather and refine petroleum, to construct and manage railroads, to conduct our internal carrying trade, to build factories, forges, furnaces, founderies, and the towns they will beget; to quarry slate, zinc, coal, iron, marble, and the thousand other elements of wealth condensed within the limits of our State. Inert, as these natural elements of wealth are, they are of no available value; but the quickening touch of labor will transmute them all to gold, and energy and enterprise, and capital in the hands of men whose earlier years were passed in manual labor, are holding out to industry the richest bribes to induce it to come and help pay our national debt and increase our country's power by enriching themselves and us. But, sir, we offer higher inducements than wages in dollars and cents. Our equal laws, recognizing that the children of a State are its jewels, put a school-house near every laboring man's dwelling, and as a reward for his industry, and to increase the power of the State, secure to each child coming into it the keys of all knowledge in the mastery of the English language, the art of writing, and at least the elementary rules of arithmetic. And in the neighborhood of every hamlet the church spire points the way from earth to heaven. Before the altar employer and workman meet as equals, and in the same class in the Sunday-school their children learn practical lessons of Christian equality.

A SUGGESTION AND EXAMPLE TO THE SOUTH.

These are conditions that the South cannot yet offer to the emigrant from our fields or those of Europe. If she would prosper she must Americanize her system of life, abandon her contempt for labor, and her habits of violence and disregard of law. She must learn to respect man as man, and stimulate his exertions by quickening his intellect, expanding and chastening his desires, and insuring him a just reward for whatever he shall put forth in the way of industry or ingenuity or enterprise. She can only create the elements of her new and great future by developing the resources now at her command, the chief of which she

will find to be her apt and docile laboring people. Her present purpose seems to be not to do this, but to enter on a new career of oppression. Her dream is still of dominion over large plantations and imbruited laborers. Let her abandon the problem, "How can I *make* my laborers work?" and occupy herself upon the gentler one, "How can I *induce* these people by whom I am surrounded to enrich themselves and me?" and she will begin to learn how rich and powerful she is. When she shall have accomplished thus much, when her laborers are freely paid and her common schools offer shelter and culture to the laborer's child, she may successfully appeal to those who can elsewhere find wages, security, and equal chances in life to come and cast their lot with her. She should hasten the coming of that day. In common with us, she is burdened by the debt of \$3,000,000,000 in which she has involved us. Let her remember that she, too, has coal, iron, lead, copper, zinc, silver and gold, cinnabar, tellurium, and all the elements of manufacturing and commercial power which characterize so abundantly every section of our country; that she has broad land which will not be fully worked when every man and woman within its limits may say with truth, "I am indeed an American citizen, and have, by my well-requited voluntary labor, earned the bread my dear family has this day eaten." And she will find that she has added vastly to her wealth when the field hand shall have been transformed into a skilled workman; when he who, under the lash, has lazily hoed cotton or corn, under the stimulus of liberal wages, converts ore and coal into rails, cannon, or anchors, or into any of the thousand minor fabrics from the fish-hook and the sail or packing needle to the heavy and complicated lock advertised in the catalogue of one concern, that of Russell & Erwin, of New Britain, in Connecticut—a State producing so little iron as to be scarcely remembered when enumerating the iron-producing Commonwealths of the country. This concern, I am informed, sold but \$30,000 worth of goods in the first year of their operations, and \$3,000,000 worth during the last year. Meanwhile it has concentrated in the village enlivened by its works a thriving and highly-educated population, and has converted unskilled laborers into mechanics and accomplished mechanics, though their hands were no nimbler or their minds more comprehensive or versatile than those of the laborers to be found in the devastated South, whose extermination or expatriation seems to be within the purview of those who assert their right to control the policy of that section.

It is not for the rich, the comparatively few who have accumulated capital, that we demand protection. We ask it in the name of the millions who live by toil, whose dependence is on their

skill and ability to labor, and whose labor creates the wealth of the country. To what fearful competition they are subjected when by withholding protection we leave them undefended against the assaults of British capital, is aptly set forth by Daniel J. Morrell, Esq., in his admirable letter to the secretary of the American Iron and Steel Association. He says:

"That portion of the price of a ton of *imported* iron which stands for the wages of labor, represents *coarse food, mean raiment, and worse lodging, political nullity, enforced ignorance, serfdom in a single occupation, with a prospect of eventual relief from the parish.*

"That portion of the price of a ton of American iron which stands for the wages of labor, represents *fresh and wholesome food, good raiment, the homestead, unlimited freedom of movement and change of occupation, intelligent support of all the machinery of municipal, State, and national Government, with a prospect of comfortable old age, at last dividing its substance with blessings among prosperous children.*

"Thus it is easy to see why imported iron may be cheap and American iron dear; for the latter, in addition to its other burdens, pays an extraordinary tax to freedom and enlightenment, which are assuredly deserving of protection."

Mr. Morrell evidently does not agree with the magnates of the South in their opinion that the way to make a State great and powerful is to oppress and degrade its working people.

WE CAN PAY OUR DEBTS "WITHOUT MONEYS."

I have never been able to believe that a national debt is a national blessing. I have seen how good might be interwoven with or educed from evil, or how a great evil might, under certain conditions, be turned to good account; but beyond this, I have never been able to regard debt, individual or national, as a blessing. It may be that, as in the inscrutable providence of God it required nearly five years of war to extirpate the national crime of slavery, and anguish and grief found their way to nearly every hearth-side in the country before we would recognize the manhood of the race we had so long oppressed, it was also necessary that we should be involved in a debt of unparalleled magnitude that we might be compelled to avail ourselves of the wealth that lies so freely around us, and by opening markets for well-rewarded industry, make our land, what in theory it has ever been, the refuge of the oppressed of all climes. England, if supreme selfishness be consistent with sagacity, has been eminently sagacious in preventing us from becoming a manufacturing people; for with our enterprise, our ingenuity, our freer institutions, the extent of our country, the cheapness of our land, the diversity of our resources, the grandeur of our seas, lakes, and rivers, we should long ago have been able to offer her best workmen such inducements as would have brought them by millions to help bear our burdens and fight our battles. We can thus raise the standard of British and continental wages and protect American workmen against ill-paid competition. This we must do if we mean to maintain the national honor. The fields now under culture, the houses now exist-

ing, the mines now being worked, the men we now employ, cannot pay our debt. To meet its annual interest by taxing our present population and developed resources would be to continue an ever-enduring burden.

The principal of the debt must be paid; but as it was contracted for posterity its extinguishment should not impoverish those who sustained the burdens of the war. I am not anxious to reduce the total of our debt, and would, in this respect, follow the example of England, and as its amount has been fixed would not for the present trouble myself about its aggregate except to prevent its increase. My anxiety is that the taxes it involves shall be as little oppressive as possible, and be so adjusted that, while defending our industry against foreign assault, they may add nothing to the cost of those necessities of life which we cannot produce, and for which we must therefore look to other lands. The raw materials entering into our manufactures, which we are yet unable to produce but on which we unwisely impose duties, I would put into the free list with tea, coffee and other such purely foreign essentials of life, and would impose duties on commodities that compete with American productions, so as to protect every feeble or infant branch of industry and quicken those that are robust. I would thus cheapen the elements of life and enable those whose capital is embarked in any branch of production to offer such wages to the skilled workmen of all lands as would steadily and rapidly increase our numbers, and, as is always the case in the neighborhood of growing cities or towns of considerable extent, increase the return for farm labor; this policy would open new mines and quarries, build new furnaces, forges, and factories, and rapidly increase the taxable property and taxable inhabitants of the country. Would the South accept this theory and enter heartily upon its execution, she would pay more than now seems her share of the debt and feel herself blessed in the ability to do it. Her climate is more genial than ours; her soil may be restored to its original fertility; her rivers are broad, and her harbors good; and above all, hers is the monopoly of the fields for rice, sugar, and cotton. Let us pursue for twenty years the sound national policy of protection, and we will double our population and more than quadruple our capital and reduce our indebtedness *per capita* and per acre to little more than a nominal sum. Thus each man can "without moneys" pay the bulk of his portion of the debt by blessing others with the ability to bear an honorable burden.

How protection, by animating, diversifying, and rewarding industry, will pay our debt is well shown by the experience of the last five years. And though we do not owe that experience to sagacious legislation, but, as I have said, to the incidents of the war, it should guide our future steps. The disparity between gold and

paper has added to the duties imposed on foreign products, and enabled our manufacturers to enter upon a career of prosperity such as they have never enjoyed, save for a brief period, under the tariffs of 1824 and 1828, and again for four years under that of 1842, a prosperity in which the farmers are sharing abundantly, as is shown by the fact that they are now out of debt, though most of their farms were mortgaged five years ago. When the war began we could not, as I have said, make the iron for a gun-barrel; we can now export better gun-barrels than we can import. We then made no steel, and had to rely on foreign countries for material for steel cannon and those steel-pointed shot by which only we can pierce the five-and-a-half inch iron-clads with which we must contend in future warfare. Many of our regiments that came first to the capital came in rags, though every garment on their backs was new, and many of them of freshly imported cloth. But, sir, no army in the world was ever so substantially clothed and armed as was that which for two days passed in review before the President of the United States and the Lieutenant General after having conquered the rebellion, and which, when disbanded, was clad in the product of American spindles and looms, and armed with weapons of American materials and construction.

It is said that ten years ago "a piece of Lake Superior iron ore was a curiosity to most of our practical metallurgists." In 1855 the first ore was shipped from Marquette county. How rapid the enlargement of the trade has been is shown by the following statement:

In 1855 there were exported.....	1,445 tons.
1856.....	11,594 "
1857.....	26,184 "
1858.....	31,135 "
1859.....	65,679 "
1860.....	116,948 "
1861.....	45,430 "
1862.....	115,720 "
1863.....	185,275 "
1864.....	235,123 "

The production of charcoal pig iron in that region, we are told by Dr. Lamborn, commenced at the Pioneer works near the Jackson mine in 1858. Those works were the pioneers of a great army, and already the Collinsville, the Forrestville, the Morgan, and the Greenwood furnaces are in profitable operation. The production of charcoal iron in that county has been as follows:

In 1858 there were exported.....	1,627 tons.
1859.....	7,258 "
1860.....	5,660 "
1861.....	7,970 "
1862.....	8,590 "
1863.....	8,908 "
1864.....	13,832 "

And though we produced no steel in 1860, a table constructed from information furnished by the report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue for the year ending June 30, 1864, shows that the Government had in that year derived

\$391,141 39 of internal revenue from the steel made and manufactured in the United States during that year.

Time will not permit me to indicate the many new branches of industry which have sprung up, or the vast extension and improvement of those which, under our old free-trade system, had found an insecure footing and were enduring a sickly existence. I may, however, venture on a few remarks upon this head. California is not a New England or an eastern State; she has perhaps been less affected by the war than any other State, unless it be Oregon; and I find that, though she raised in 1859 but 2,378,000 pounds of wool, she raised in 1863 7,600,000, and in 1864, 8,000,000 pounds. She is, we are assured by her papers, realizing the advantage of bringing the producer and consumer together; and though during the last year she shipped to New York some 7,500,000 pounds of wool, she is showing that her people understand the importance of saving the double transportation they would otherwise pay on those of their own products they might consume—that for carrying the raw material to the factory, and that for bringing the fabrics back again. I find in one of her papers the following statement:

“CALIFORNIA WOOLEN MILLS.—The Pioneer Mill, at Black Point, California, has thirty-one looms at work now, consumes annually 1,200,000 pounds of wool, employs 220 laborers, pays out \$100,000 yearly in wages, uses a capital of \$500,000, and runs fifty-two sewing machines. About one fourth of the wool purchased is used in making blankets, the importation of which has now entirely ceased, the home production having taken entire possession of the market. Nearly half the production is flannel, which is gradually crowding the imported article out of the market. About one third of the wool consumed at this mill is made into tweeds and cassimeres, which is mostly made up into clothing in San Francisco. Broadcloth is not made there in quantity, because of the scarcity of pure merino wool. The Pioneer and Mission Mills together consume about 2,400,000 pounds of wool, employ about 450 laborers and \$1,000,000 of capital, and pay out \$200,000 in wages annually.”

Well done, California. Your tweeds and cassimeres and blankets will crowd foreign articles not out of your own State alone, but out of the markets of the States of the Pacific slope. You will soon need machinists to construct your sewing-machines and make the tools for those who do such work. Land around your cities will grow in value; and those who own it need not compete with farmers so distant from market as to limit them to the production of grain alone. Hay, potatoes, turnips, and all other roots for the sustenance of man and beast and fruits for the table, may engage their attention and give them ample reward for their labor.

Oregon has also felt the quickening influence of the times. She paid to the internal revenue department, during 1864, taxes on the manufacture of \$128,620 67 of woollen cloth.

THE PEOPLE OF THE PRAIRIES NEED A PROTECTIVE TARIFF.

The people of the prairies, next to those of the desolated South, are interested in the crea-

tion and maintenance of diversified industry. While they depend on grain-growing, and that commerce which English free trade permits the producers of raw materials to enjoy, cities will be founded and grow at points on the lakes and rivers; but none of these even can be great cities without manufactures. Here and there a concentration of railroads may also create a first-class town or an inferior city; but the rest of their wide country will be but sparsely populated by an agricultural community, and dotted at wide distances apart by beautiful villages such as now gratify the eye of the traveler through the West.

The prairie States have within them the elements of innumerable profitable industries. The western farmer clears his new land by girdling and burning the primitive forests. The wood is not without value, and condensed as it might be, it would bear transportation to a market. Constituents of mine have been for two years engaged in erecting works which cover over fifteen acres of land for the production of paper pulp from wood. There now lie around their vast buildings thirty-five thousand cords of wood; and in a few days they hope to put their works in operation. For awhile they ran part of their machinery and produced to their entire satisfaction and that of the trade pulp which, intermingled with five per cent. or less of that produced from cotton rags, furnished admirable printing paper.

Now, the corn husks—ay, and the corn with the husks—of the farmers of the West, go to waste, or find no better use than supplying them with fuel during the winter. The following article, clipped from the New York Evening Post of November 25, invites them to experiment and learn whether they act more wisely in wasting this material than the southern planters, who feared the establishment of American manufactures, did in failing to utilize their cotton seed, which, if we may accept De Bow's authority, would have produced from \$100,000,000 to \$120,000,000 per annum if converted into oil and oil cake:

“At a recent meeting of the Institute of Technology in Boston, Mr. Bond made a statement of results recently attained in this country and in Europe in the manufacture of paper from corn husks. Experiments upon this material have been in progress in Bohemia since 1854, but have not reached a satisfactory result until within the last two or three years. In the successful processes lately adopted the husks were boiled in an alkaline mixture, after which there remained a quantity of fiber mixed with gluten. The gluten was extracted by pressure, forming a nutritious article like ‘oil cake,’ and then the fiber was subjected to other processes in which it produced the real paper ‘stock’ or ‘pulp,’ and left a fiber which has been made into strong and serviceable cloth. The husks yield forty per cent. of useful material; ten per cent. of fiber; eleven per cent. gluten, and nineteen per cent. of paper stock. This paper stock is equal to that made from the best linen rags. Allowing the profit of thirty-eight per cent. to the manufacturer, the different articles can be produced for six cents per pound for fiber, one and a half cent for gluten, and four cents for paper stock.”

Were this branch of manufactures well established on the prairies, the press of the West would give up its denunciations of the paper makers of the country as conspirators, monopolists, and extortioners, and cease to publish such paragraphs as the following, clipped from a recent number of the Galena (Illinois) Gazette:

"We understand that many of the people of Warren and other towns in the east part of the county are using corn for fuel. We had a conversation with an intelligent gentleman who has been burning it, and who considers it much cheaper than wood. Ears of corn can be bought for ten cents per bushel by measure, and seventy bushels, worth seven dollars, will measure a cord."

Could the people of Illinois bring themselves to believe that they are capable of doing any other labor than raising raw material, they would bring into use cheaper fuel than corn or wood at seven dollars a cord. Their lands are underlaid by lead, zinc, copper, and iron; and would they determine to bring their metals into market *as much manufactured* as their skill and supply of labor will permit, they would, by creating a demand for fuel, compel the development of the magnificent deposits of bituminous coal through which the Illinois Central railroad runs. Let them be admonished before it is too late that the fertility of their soil, exuberant as it is, is not exhaustless.

But, inviting as is this branch of my subject, I must leave it with the remark that, ignorant as we are of the extent of our mineral deposits, we are more ignorant of the uses to which may be applied many elements of life with which within a limited range of purposes we are quite familiar; and that, varied and wide as are the expanding opportunities to achieve usefulness and wealth, he who embarks his capital or enterprise in such as will yield the most golden results will not be more benefited by the introduction of new branches of manufacture than the owners of land, who will find in the markets of the village and the refuse of the factory the means of following the methods of English husbandry, and succeeding the exhausting white crop by a green one, and giving to the soil each year more of the elements of fertility than the crop abstracts from it; and who, having a market at their doors, will save the transportation which now makes a yard of Manchester cloth worth many bushels of wheat in Kansas, and a bushel of Kansas wheat worth many yards of the same cloth in Manchester. Under free trade transporters, factors, and commission men have absorbed what would have been the joint profit of the American manufacturer and the grain-grower, had the producer and the consumer been side by side or in reasonable proximity to each other.

DOMESTIC COMMERCE IS MORE PROFITABLE THAN FOREIGN.

There is other commerce than that between foreign nations. France and England lie nearer

to each other than New Jersey and Ohio, or than Indiana and Missouri. Commerce between New England and the Pacific slope takes place at the end of longer voyages than that between New and Old England. A quick market and active capital make prosperous commerce. Interest on borrowed capital is often a fatal parasite, and a nimble sixpence is always better than a sluggish shilling. Commerce is the traffic in or transfer of commodities. It should reward two capitals or industries—those of the producer of each commodity; and where trade is reciprocal, and really free, each man selling or buying because he wishes to do so, it does reward both. It is, therefore, apparent, that if we consume American fabrics, as well as home-grown food, these two profits, and a third, (two of which now accrue to foreigners, one absolutely and the other in great part,) would remain in the country. These are the profits on the production of raw material, on its manufacture, and on its too often double transportation. But trade between a country in which capital is abundant, and the machinery of which, having paid for itself in profits already realized, is cheap, as is the case in England, and a new, or in these respects poor, country, as is ours, is never reciprocal; for the party with capital and machinery fixes the terms on which it both buys and sells.

In addition to keeping both profits on our commerce at home and doing our own carrying, the diversification of our industry will insure markets for all our products, and render the destruction of any one of the leading interests of the country by a foreign commercial Power an impossibility. By securing the home market to our industry, and giving security to the investment of capital in furnaces, forges, mills, railroads, factories, founderies, and workshops, we can steadily enlarge the tide of immigration. Men will flow into all parts of our country—some to find remunerative employment at labor in which they are skilled; some, finding that land, mineral wealth, water-power, and commercial advantages are open to all in an eminent degree, will come in pursuit of enterprises of moment, and each new settlement, each new village or town, and each new branch of industry established, around which thousands of people may settle, will be a new market for the products of our skill and industry: so that we shall not only become independent of Great Britain in so far as not to depend on her for that which is essential to our comfort or welfare, but independent in having a population whose productions will be so diverse that though the seas that roll around us were, as Jefferson once wished them, "seas of fire," our commercial, manufacturing, and agricultural employments could go on undisturbed by what was happening in other lands. When we shall have attained this condition of affairs we will build ships and have foreign commerce, for we will have that

to carry away which, being manufactured, will contain in packages of little bulk our raw material, food, mechanical skill, and the labors of our machinery, impelled by our coal; and in exchange we will get whatever of raw material we do not produce, and the ability to retain the basis of a sound currency which England and France, by the free trade they preach but do not practice, now draw from us and other countries in the position we so humbly occupy of producers of raw material, whose people lack the foresight or the ability to supply themselves with clothing and the means of elegant life.

WHAT CONGRESS SHOULD DO.

Mr. Chairman, it is not my purpose to propose any specific modifications of our tariff or internal revenue laws. They operate most unfortunately upon several leading interests of the country and eminently so on the producers of umbrellas, manilla cordage, and railroad iron. But I have confidence in the gentlemen composing the Committee of Ways and Means, and the suggestive report of the United States Revenue Commission is now before us. The responsibility will justly rest on Congress, if with such aids we fail to correct those incongruities in our laws which have prostrated several important branches of manufactures to the injury of the laboring people of the country.

I may, however, remark that I am opposed to prohibitions or prohibitory duties, but will gladly unite in imposing on foreign manufactured commodities such discriminating duties as will defend our industries from overwhelming assaults at the hands of the selfish capitalists who see that Britain's power depends on Britain's manufacturing supremacy, and are ever ready to expend a portion of their surplus capital in the overthrow of the rising industries of other nations. Judicious legislation on this subject will, by inviting hither her skilled workmen and sturdy yeomen, so strengthen us and enfeeble England that she will not make railways and other improvements for military purposes in Canada, for she will see that, when Canada shall be made the base of military operations against the United States, her American dominions will pass promptly into our possession.

WE ARE STILL IN COLONIAL BONDAGE TO ENGLAND.

I find, sir, in a journal upon which I am in the habit of relying, in an article on the British exports of iron and steel, the statement that during the seven months terminating July 31, 1865, the United States purchased more than one third of the railroad and bar iron exported by England. While we were thus adding to the wealth and power of England, by purchasing one third of her entire export of railroad and bar iron, one of her "men-of-war," commanded by an American traitor, was destroying our unarmed whalers engaged in the peaceful pursuits of their dangerous trade, and our furnaces, forges, and roll-

ing-mills were idle, or but partially employed. The internal taxes levied directly and indirectly on a ton of American railroad iron are heavier than the duty imposed on a ton of foreign rails by our tariff, and at this time most of the furnaces and rolling-mills of our country are suspended. The Pennsylvania iron works at Danville, in that State, make both pig and railroad iron. The invested capital of the company is \$1,500,000. When in full operation it employs twelve hundred men, upon whom not less than five thousand women and children depend. The works are adapted to the production of both pig iron and rails. They cannot, however, produce an adequate supply of iron for the rolling-mills, and the company are annual purchasers of pig iron. Their capacity is twenty-seven thousand tons pig iron and thirty-three thousand tons of rails. Their actual production in the two last years was but as follows:

In 1864, Pig iron.....	17,154 tons.
Rails.....	22,512 "
In 1865, Pig iron.....	14,758 "
Rails.....	15,956 "

The Rough and Ready rolling-mill, in the same town, is capable of producing about twelve thousand tons of rails per annum. Its proprietors purchase their pig iron. Its production during the two last years has been in the exact proportion to its capacity as that of the Pennsylvania works. The difficulty with both is that our internal taxes so far more than counter-balance the protection afforded by our tariff that when gold ranges at less than forty British iron masters can undersell either in our own markets. Our laws instead of protecting American labor discriminate against it and in favor of that of England. The duties and internal taxes on iron evidently need revising. The interest is depressed, not only in Pennsylvania, but in every part of the country. During the latter part of the seven months referred to four rolling-mills in southeastern Ohio, with a capacity of sixteen thousand tons of rails per annum, were idle, and the blast furnaces in the region which can produce one hundred and thirty-five thousand tons of charcoal pig metal, produced in 1865 but forty-five thousand.

Of the twenty furnaces on and near the Allegheny river, in Pennsylvania, only eight were in blast at the close of the year. I am told there are nine blast furnaces in Missouri capable of producing about forty-five thousand tons, and that but three are now in operation. But one of the four blast furnaces near Detroit was in operation in December. The twenty-five rolling-mills of Pittsburg were, I am informed, then running but quarter-time, and the production of bloom iron in the counties of New York bordering on Lake Champlain was in 1865 but about one third of that of 1864. Let me ask, sir, whether Congress is faithful to the laboring men of the country when it deprives them of the opportunity to enrich themselves and the

country by expending their labor on the growth of our own lands.

From the same journal I also learn that, during the same seven months, the United States imported more than one half of the unwrought steel exported from Great Britain, while a very carefully prepared list of the steel-works of the country, showing the kinds of steel made, the product for the last year, and the capacity of each, shows that the product during the last year was but eighteen thousand four hundred and fifteen tons, though the capacity of the works is forty-two thousand one hundred tons. It thus appears that we could have made of the growth of our own lands, and by the employment of our own people, every ton of rails, bar iron, and unwrought steel we imported during that period. Will the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES] say that it would not have been wise to withhold this patronage from our treacherous rival and bestow it upon our toiling countrymen?

The western farmer and railroad man say "Let me buy iron and steel cheap; it is my right to buy where I can buy for least money;" and their Representative, complying with their wishes, refuses to put an adequate duty upon iron and steel. May it not be pertinent to remind these gentlemen that the manufacturers of the iron and steel they import live in houses built of British timber and British stone, and furnished with British furniture; that they are taught, so far as they are educated, by English teachers; attended in sickness by English doctors; clothed and shod by English artisans; and that their wages are expended in confirming British supremacy by augmenting British industry and British commerce; that they are fed with wheat gathered on the banks of the Nile and the Baltic, or wherever England can buy it cheapest; and that General Jackson's assertion, that to transfer six hundred thousand men from agricultural to manufacturing employments would give us a greater market for our agricultural products than all Europe now supplies, is as true now as it was when first uttered. But that, if we import the men to make the iron and steel we will need for 1866, 1867, and 1868, the implements with which they will dig the limestone and ore, and mine the coal, will be of American production; the food they will eat will be grown on American soil; the timber of the houses they will occupy will be cut from American forests; the stones with which it will mingle will be quarried from American quarries; and the tailor, shoemaker, and hatter, the teacher, preacher, and doctor, and all others whose services they will require, and whose presence will augment the population of the village, the town, or the city will be Americans, and depend for their supplies on American labor. And may I not ask whether the farmers of the country, in being relieved from colonial dependence and having a steady market thus

brought to their door—a market in which wheat from the banks of the Nile and the shores of the Baltic will never compete with and cheapen theirs—would not, though they paid more dollars per ton, find that they were buying their iron and steel cheaper if they gave fewer bushels of wheat for it, and less frequently consumed their surplus crops as fuel or permitted them to rot in the field? He does not buy most cheaply who pays least money for the articles he gets, but he who gives the least percentage of his day's, month's or year's labor in exchange for a given commodity; and tested by this standard, the cheapest market in which iron and steel can be bought for American purposes will be found in the protected market of America.

PROTECTION CHEAPENS GOODS.

But protection begets competition and invariably cheapens the money value of commodities. This is not mere theory; it is fact established by the experience of all nations that have protected their industry. Washington's Secretary of the Treasury understood this as perfectly as the adept in social science understands it to-day. Every nation that ever protected its industry improved the quality and lessened the price of its productions; and no people, while not protecting their manufactures, have ever been able to hold a fair position among the commercial nations of the world, because they could not compete in cheapness with protected industries. While Holland protected her industry more adequately than England, she sold her cheap goods in that country and maintained her supremacy on the seas. It was then that the Dutch raised the ire of Andrew Yarrinton by taunting Englishmen with their want of skill, and England with her want of civilization, in selling her raw products at the price others would give, and buying back part of them when manufactured at the price at which others would sell. But when England perfected her protective system, her superior advantages in coal and iron gave her commercial supremacy, by enabling her to cheapen articles she had believed herself unable to produce, and to employ British ships in carrying English fabrics to mere growers of raw material in every part of the world.

France, as I have shown, protects her industry, and her silks, laces, cloths, cassimeres, and products of iron and steel hold their place in the markets of the world in spite of England's larger commercial marine and more abundant supply of coal and iron. Has protection increased the price of anything but labor in Germany? Before the establishment of the Zoll-Verein or Customs-Union she exported nothing but raw materials, and was only too happy, as I have shown, to send with these her peasantry either for war or civic purposes; but under the influence of protection the value of man has risen in Germany, and that of German prod-

ucts fallen in the markets of the world, till her cloths and the multifarious products of her diversified industry compete with those of England and France in the markets of the United States and other nations whose people devote themselves exclusively to the production of raw materials. Even Russia, with her thirty millions of recently freed serfs, who enter upon the duties of freemen without disturbance, because the wise emperor who enfranchised them had secured employment and wages for each by protecting the industry of all, is now entering into the general markets of the world in competition with France, Germany, Belgium, and England. But we enter no foreign market with productions which attest our wealth, skill, genius, or enterprise; and the prices of what we do export—grain, coarse provisions, and whisky—depend on such contingencies as drought, excessive rain, the potato rot, or other widespread calamity for a transatlantic market. When good crops prevail in Europe there is no market there for us. Consistent with the experience of other nations has been our own. Under the tariffs of 1824 and 1828 the prices of all those commodities in the production of which our people engaged to any extent fell rapidly. When the tariff of 1842 went into effect our country was flooded with British hardware of every variety, from a tenpenny nail to a circular saw, and from table cutlery to butt hinges, thumb latches, &c. But when 1847 came round, four years of adequate protection had so stimulated the skill and ingenuity of Americans, and had brought from Great Britain so many skilled workmen, that our own market, at least, was ours for an infinite variety of iron-ware, and we have held it in many departments of the business from that day to this, no nation having been able to undersell us in our own streets. If, sir, we are now paying too high for iron and steel-ware, we are but suffering the penalty of our folly. Had we continued the protection afforded by the tariff of 1842, or modified it from time to time as branches of business and the condition of the market required, by transferring the duties that had defended and advanced a branch of industry to articles needing greater protection, we would now be producing an adequate supply of cheap iron for our own use, and competing with France and England in the markets of Mexico and Central and South America. We are thus, I say, paying the penalty of our own folly in having destroyed our industry and rendered the investment of capital in manufacturing enterprises insecure. Let but the capitalists of the country know that Congress will so revise the duties on railroad iron as to give it adequate protection over the taxation its production encounters under the law for raising internal revenue, and competition will spring up all over the country and make from the growth of our own lands cheaper and better iron or steel rails than we can import.

How can it be otherwise? Do not the people of Michigan and Wisconsin wish to develop their resources and make them available? Are the people of Missouri insensible to the advantages which would flow from deriving income from the conversion of their mountains of ore into rails, machinery, and hardware? Will not the people of Tennessee allow the descendants of the colored men who worked his furnaces and gave Cave Johnson his majority in his first contest for Congress, and others like them, to enrich that devastated State by working her mines and bringing her forges and furnaces again into profitable use? And why may not the whir of the rolling-mill be heard throughout Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, Georgia, and other southern States which are heavily underlaid with iron? There will be quick demand for the yield of all if we determine to develop the wealth of our whole country, and interlace its parts, as we should, with railroads. By excluding from our markets one third of the annual export of railroad and bar iron from England we will bring hither the men who make it. Why should we, with the capacity established in five years—for when the war began and furnished its incidental protection, the manufacture of steel was unknown in our country—why should we, who in five years have created facilities for manufacturing about fifty thousand tons of steel per annum, buy from England one half of her entire export of unwrought steel? Rather let us enfeeble her and strengthen our country by bringing hither the men who make it. The iron of the States I have named, and I may say of almost every State of the Union, would give us steel as pure and tenacious as England can make. The establishment of this branch of trade would lead to immense internal commerce, and reward our railroads with business that would flow both ways in all seasons of the year. The ores of the Marquette region will be in request in every iron-producing State as those of Sweden, Norway, Russia, and Nova Scotia are in France and England.

WHY AN EXPORT DUTY SHOULD BE LAID ON COTTON.

Mr. Chairman, permit me, in drawing to a conclusion, to repeat that we need not resort to the prohibitions which have been practiced by other countries. Our natural advantages and those which spring from our personal freedom, are sufficient to relieve us from all difficulty on this point. There is, however, one of our agricultural productions upon which, did the Constitution permit, I would lay an export duty; and that is cotton. And I hope the Constitution will be so amended as to permit it; for though for years—for the life of more than a generation—the country was ruled in the interest of slavery, to the destruction of the interests and rights of our free laborers, by the pretended

apprehension that if American cotton were not cheapened rival fields would be developed, the delusion has been dispelled, and all men know that ours are the only available cotton fields of the world. For five years we maintained along the coast of the cotton States a blockade such as never was attempted before. The people of those States planted no cotton and burned much of what they had produced, and did all that madness or ingenuity could suggest to develop rival fields if any existed; and what is the result? Necessity constrained the temporary use of Indian cotton, and Calcutta became so rich that her *ryots* put silver tires around their cart wheels. But when the power of our armies had reopened the cotton fields of the South, when it became known that freedmen were working upon the Sea Islands, and apparent that our Government was again to possess the cotton region of the South, there came a fearful revulsion in India, and all men acknowledged that God had given the United States a monopoly of the available cotton fields of the earth. Upon that one production we should put an export duty, and the result would be that the men of the cotton States, no longer dependent on England for a market for their bulky raw material, would, with their cheaper fabrics, drive her cotton goods from the markets of the world. Though I would not, by legislation, prohibit the export of the elements of any branch of manufacture or machinery, I will endeavor to retain in the country many of the elements of manufactures that now go abroad, by making them more valuable in this country than in any other, and by impressing upon the American people the conviction, so long ago inculcated upon the people of Ireland by Dean Swift, that to enrich themselves they must

"Carry out their own goods as much manufactured and bring in those of others as little manufactured as the nature of mutual commerce will allow."

To gratify our patriotic desires we need not resort to prohibitory duties. We can nationalize our policy by relieving from duty tea, coffee, and any raw material which we do not produce, but which enters into our manufactures or arts. I would give the wool-growers protection, but would stimulate the manufacture of carpets and increase the demand for American wool by admitting free of duty those low grades which we do

not produce; and would lay light duties on those articles in the manufacture of which machinery has been perfected and large capitals have been accumulated, especially where the original cost of the machinery has been returned in profits; and would make them heavier and heaviest upon those branches of industry which are most feeble but give assurance of ultimate success. When we do this our country will cease to be a mere agglomeration of sections, and we will be a national people, homogeneous in our interests by reason of their immense diversity.

Such, sir, is my plan for enforcing the Monroe doctrine, acquiring Canada, paying the national debt, and by relieving the South of its embarrassment, recementing the shattered Union. The poor whites must be weaned from the rifle, net, and line, by the inducements of well-rewarded labor. Their idle wives and children may thus be brought to habits of order, method, and industry, and in a few years we shall cease to remember that in this nineteenth century, and under our republican Government, there were for several decades millions of people tending rapidly to barbarism. The same inducements will disclose, even to the eye of prejudice, the manhood of the freedman, and that kindly relation between the employer and his employé which exists throughout the busy North and East will spring up in the South. Oppressed and degraded as he has been, the colored man will find that there are fields open to his enterprise, and a useful and honorable career possible to him, and will prove that, like other men, he loves property and has the energy to acquire it, the ability to retain it, and the thrift to make it advantageous to himself, his neighbors, and his country.

Let us then measure our resources by experiment and open them to the enterprise of the world; and the question whether we owe three hundred or three thousand millions will, ten years hence, be one of trifling importance; and, as Andrew Yarrinton showed the people of England how to "outdo the Dutch without fighting," we will find peace hath her victories for us also; Canada will come to us like ripe fruit falling into the hands of the farmer; and if Maximilian remain in Mexico, it will be as the citizen of a republic and an adherent of the Monroe doctrine.

